

Dr. Oppenheimer's Exploratorium Al Richmond

THE

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NEW YORK'S OFF-TRACK BETTING

Big Gamble on Gambling

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LETTERS

punishment fits the crime

Hollywood, Calif.

DEAR SIR: In a democracy the punishment for throwing a rock or breaking a window or burning a trash can or even talking back to a policeman is NOT death. In a totalitarian setup, perhaps. In a dictatorship, maybe. In a military junta, possibly. But not in the United States. Not yet, at least. Not unless you believe in fascism. Native American fascism, that is.

Harry Cimring

sea of oil

Hagen, West Germany

DEAR SIR: The headline of your editorial [May 18] on Nixon's invasion of Cambodia asks "What Happened?" Please let me, a German, comment on it.

I quote first from an article in *U.S. News & World Report* of Mar. 30, headlined "The Oceans: Coming Industrial Frontier":

A race is under way among U.S. firms to tap ocean resources on a massive scale. The lure: potential earnings of billions of dollars. . . . By far the biggest user of ocean resources is the U.S. petroleum industry. It has made exploring for and extracting undersea oil and gas a \$5-billion-a-year business.

This article mentions Alaska as one of the offshore discoveries, but keeps silent on an area rich beyond all others.

"The Hushed Up Sea of Oil," is the title of an article of May 22 in *Die Weltwoche* (a Swiss weekly well known in Western Europe). This article asks: "Is the ideological conflict the only concern of the United States' engagement in Indo-China?" It answers as follows:

The discovery of vast oil fields in the sea areas of Southeast Asia, belittled intentionally up to now, points to another direction. In the course of the last years, American geologists, geophysicists and oceanographers have discovered a sea of oil of about 4,000 by 800 miles by exact surveying. It extends under the sea bottom from the Gulf of Siam, across Indonesia, to the coast of northern Australia. But only the offshore rulers can exploit the immense reserves of oil in the future. Indispensable are connections from the derricks to the hinterland.

Quite revealing, isn't it? . . .

And what about the concessions, extending from the coasts of Thailand and Malaysia up to 250 and more miles into the Gulf of Siam, in incontestable international waters? On the northern part of the Gulf of Siam Amoco and the Gulf Oil Co. got concessions from Thailand and Cambodia which include the entire width of the Gulf of Siam. More than forty oil firms from nine countries, most of them American firms, take part in the exploration of the oil fields. Among them are Union Oil Co., Conoco, Tenneco, BP, and Esso. . . .

Perhaps we should remember now Sen. Gale McGee (D., Wyo.) who, in a speech before the Senate, Feb. 24, 1965, stated frankly that

It is my judgment that the area of Indo-China . . . is such a rich empire in its total context . . . that it makes a difference to the powers of the world what happens to that segment of resource potential. . . . It was worth a war on the part of Japan. . . . It was worth wars by the British, by the French, by the Dutch, and the Portuguese in earlier colonial times. . . .

There you have the truth! . . . Southeast Asia is now worth a war again. . . .

Friedrich Jaeger

EDITORIALS

The New Constituency

It was a foregone conclusion that the President would sign the bill giving 18-year-olds the right to vote. In political terms, he had no alternative. Senators Mansfield and Kennedy are said to be responsible for the strategy of wrapping up the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the lowering of the voting age to 18 in a single package. This had the effect of by-passing the Judiciary Committee, whose chairman, Rep. Emanuel Celler, 82, has been averse to lowering the voting age. Strong lobbying by young people also helped, but major credit must go to Edward Kennedy. *Newsweek* (June 29) says that after consulting legal authorities, Kennedy concluded that although the Constitution gives the states the right to set the qualifications for voting, the denial of the right to the 18-to-20-year group, who possess that right in no less than four states and thirty-five foreign countries, is a violation of the equal-rights provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. The courts may rule against Kennedy, but the House went along with him, 224 to 183.

Constitutionality of the measure is the first question that arises. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York's Committee on Federal Legislation argues that it is constitutional. In any case, a decision can be obtained on the constitutionality question before January 1, 1971, when the law goes into effect.

In the long term, reducing the voting age is not likely, in itself, to affect the distribution of radical, moderate and conservative attitudes among the voters. While there are differences between youth and sex as barriers to voting, the woman's suffrage movement may have some pertinence. The antis held that granting women the vote would coarsen and even debauch them. (Thomas Jefferson was of that view; he held that it would lead to "ambiguity of issue.") The more euphoric pros looked forward to the millennium: at the very least, women would elevate politics. Those in the middle, who held that the only consequence would be a doubling of the electorate, but that women must be granted the vote as a matter of justice, turned out to be right.

The 21-to-24 category has perhaps the lowest percentage of those voting out of those eligible. This is probably because these young 20s are transient, moving about, unsettled. Still, if this ratio holds among the 11 million 18-to-20s, more than 5 million may be added to the electorate.

Even if there is no partisan advantage or disadvantage in the long run, in 1972 the effect may be pronounced. It will be the first time that these young people will have a chance to vote, and they may turn out in large numbers because of the novelty of it, and because there will be heightened agitation on college campuses to take advantage of the opportunity. Second, Mr. Nixon has given them ample reason to vote against him: the Indo-Chinese war and his patent dishonesty in reference to it; the draft; his remark about young dissenters as "bums," which he intended to apply only to the more violent but which has been construed in more general terms. Third, neither he nor the Vice President is the type of older person

who "turns on" the majority of the young, especially the intelligent and idealistic ones.

The Washington Post (June 21) Samuel Lubell points out that the Defense Department has done much to make both the Johnson and Nixon Administrations unpopular among the young. Although it was clear in 1962, and earlier, that there would be an immense excess of males eligible for military service, the Pentagon requested merely a renewal of the Selective Service Act, thereby forcing millions of young men, for whom there was no need and no room in the services, to look for ways to evade the draft, postpone career decisions, and build up a grudge against the Establishment which was unnecessarily harassing them.

Actually, an argument can be made for the view that granting the vote to the 18-to-20 group will reduce the dangers of a confrontation. The addition of these voters may tip the balance toward peaceful revolution. If it does not, the young, and those who are disposed to side with them, will become still more difficult to mollify, and the apostles of violence will think they see their opportunity.

New York Primary

Only about 26 per cent of the registered Democrats bothered to participate in New York's primary election on June 23, but the low turn-out does not necessarily indicate lack of interest. In the Republican primary there were no contests for five statewide offices and in only five of forty-one Congressional Districts were nominations contested. Four liberals, all taking much the same position on most issues including the war, contested for the Democratic Senatorial nomination. Liberal voters, therefore, could express a preference but had no cause for serious alarm; conservative Democrats had no choice.

There was more interest, of course, in the gubernatorial nomination, but even so there was not much difference in views on major issues between Howard Samuels and Arthur Goldberg. So there was not much reason for voters, Republicans or Democrats, to flock to the polls.

In two Congressional Districts, the 22nd and the 19th, strong liberals (James H. Scheuer and Bella Abzug) defeated weak liberals (Jacob H. Gilbert and Leonard Farbstein) for the Democratic nomination. In the 14th C.D. in Brooklyn, Rep. John Rooney won renomination against a peace candidate; in that district, however, the issue was not peace but federal patronage and tribal loyalties. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell was defeated for nomination by Charles B. Rangel, who had the Republican nomination and the support of Mayor John V. Lindsay. Powell's luck had simply run out; his elimination from Harlem politics should free Negro voters for independent political action. In Westchester, liberal Republican Ogden Reid beat off a hard challenger, and in the 21st C.D. Herman Badillo won the Democratic nomination, but recounts have been ordered in his district and in Powell's.

Despite the appearance of unity in the Republican Party, there is little occasion for rejoicing in that quarter. Consider, for example, the Senate race. Richard Ottinger, the Democratic nominee, and Charles Goodell, the incumbent Republican backed by Mayor Lindsay, will split the anti-war liberal vote in November; on issues there is

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no great difference between them. This could give James Buckley, the Conservative Party nominee, a good chance to win. Fortunately Ottinger has money—more money than Buckley—and doesn't hesitate to spend it, and this should help the Democrats.

Arthur Goldberg, with both the Democratic and Liberal Party nominations, has a good chance to defeat Governor Rockefeller, who is seeking a fourth term. For one thing, Paul Adams, the Conservative Party nominee, should receive a sizable vote that might otherwise go to Rockefeller. The polls show that Goldberg is the beneficiary of a "high visibility" and "high recognition" factor. The same polls show that he is not only well known but, to most voters, is regarded as "sincere, honest, intelligent, and well motivated"—not a bad way to be regarded. Also he is *not* regarded as a zealous partisan, which should help. More important, it should not be forgotten that Governor Rockefeller did not have strong opposition the last two times he ran (Morgenthau and O'Connor). The presence of Basil Paterson, the first Negro to win nomination for Lieutenant Governor in New York, on the ticket, should strengthen Goldberg in black precincts; and he will, of course, poll a heavy Jewish vote. He is not an inspiring candidate, but he has dignity and presence and does well in suburban communities.

Lastly, looking ahead to 1972, it is important, in terms of national politics, that Albany, which is a real power center, should be in Democratic rather than Republican hands. This consideration should weigh heavily with all those voters, Democratic, Republican and Independent, who want to see the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell team consigned to oblivion.

Saying 'No' to Labour

Mass media revel in upset elections, so it is not surprising that all the stops have been pulled out in describing "one of the most stunning upset elections in modern British history," which is the way the Tory victory is being presented. Many reasons are trotted forth to explain it: Heath, a bachelor, appealed to the ladies; British housewives were indignant over food prices; the vote was the lowest in postwar elections; the polls and the press, by predicting a Labour victory, created a mood of apathy, and so on.

But on several counts the results were not surprising. Postwar British politics, as we have pointed out before, has had a distinct pattern, or rhythm. The Tories mess up the economy, voters become indignant, and Labour is given a mandate to clean up. This mandate the Labour Party obligingly carries out; it has some first-rate economists and they know what to do. "Austerity" programs are more easily imposed by Labour than by Tory governments, and Labour ministers, nice blokes all, cheerfully undertake the unpleasant tasks which the Tory chaps either sidestepped or did not understand. But once Labour has accomplished its task, once the books have been balanced and a healthy surplus is on hand, the time has come for another Tory binge and out goes Labour.

In this election there was another factor: the charade had begun to pall. In *The Nation* of June 15, Raymond Williams, our British correspondent, explained why he

was saying "no" to Labour this time. He did not believe that British society had "almost magically" come right again. The election, he wrote, was "not a choice between the Tories and Labour. It is a choice between an enemy and an illusion." It reminded him of 1959, when Macmillan's Conservative government was returned "in just such a mood. Most people voted in an acquiescing, fairly relaxed spirit; there was little room for positive beliefs. Then, as now, a temporary economic advantage was interpreted as an achieved steady state." Williams comes from a working-class family; he has been one of the leading left-wing intellectuals supporting the Labour Party; but in 1966 he finally decided to say "no" and explained why in the May Day Manifestoes he edited in 1967 and 1968.

The conceit of Labour ministers always proves to be their undoing in the end. Once they have brought a little balance into the economy, by applying capitalist not Socialist remedies, they feel that they can ignore the promises, the commitments, the Socialist programs and rhetoric and win as other politicians might win. But this time the young intellectuals, who have been invaluable to Labour over the years, had grown tired of "the old hawkers of disillusion, of fatigue as wisdom, of cynical accommodation." And when they say "no" the party is in trouble, even though its leaders campaign on a "politics of happiness" as Wilson did.

The Elephant Saw a Ghost

It is not likely that the high viziers of the Nixon Administration read Robert Sherrill's acid comments on the proposed \$200 million loan to the sinking Penn Central (*The Nation*, June 29), but they backed away from the proposed succor almost as if Sherrill had scared the daylights out of them. Their action was no more than common prudence. Not that they have given up the idea of bailing out the now officially bankrupt road (unofficially it has been insolvent for months), but they must find a more discreet way of going about the operation.

The earlier plan, which Sherrill took apart with devastating effect, called for the \$200 million to be advanced through the Defense Department, on the ground that without the Penn Central the military would be gravely handicapped in carrying out their global commitments. Further, if the Pennsy went, it was claimed that free enterprise would go with it and the military would be left without anything to defend. When the proposed loan was abruptly canceled, various reasons were offered for callously allowing the railroad (and its creditors) to go through the wringer. The creditors, including some of the biggest banks in the country, might not get 100 cents on the dollar on their loans if the catastrophe was allowed to happen; if the government intervened, they had a better chance.

Among the conjectures was the possibility that the Defense Department had come to realize it could keep the Russians, North Vietnamese and other enemies at bay without the help of the Penn Central; that the amount sought was inadequate (as indeed it was); that the directors would therefore soon be coming around for more, and also that Lockheed and other defense corporations which are not in exactly flourishing condition might

similarly appeal for relief through government loans. While there may be some truth in these surmises, it is certainly not the whole truth.

It is possible that someone high in the councils of the Nixon ménage recalled the Dixon-Yates scandal of the Eisenhower administration; Mr. Nixon might have had that recollection himself—he was there. Then there was the fact that one of the nation's most eminent law firms—Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander—was discovered to be acting for the Penn Central, and until the 1968 campaign both Mr. Nixon and his doughty Attorney General were members of that firm. Still another possible embarrassment lurked in the fact that Mr. Nixon's great friend, Walter Annenberg, Ambassador to England, was reputed to be the largest single stockholder in the railroad. And Investors Diversified Services, Inc., which Mr. Nixon once served as a director, was a large stockholder in the holding company of which the railroad is a subsidiary. Further, certain great banks with close Administration ties were involved one way or another.

In short, the situation had, and has, conflict of interest written all over it, wherefore the Administration drew back from the brink. Nine directors have resigned in the past month, suggesting they may wish to clear themselves of suspicion that their sole and wholehearted allegiance was not to the Penn Central stockholders. Not only has Rep. Wright Patman been critical of the original plan to bail out the railroad, but Sen. Vance Hartke has been asking questions of the Interstate Commerce Commission (why was Congress not apprised of the impending calamity?) and getting no answers. As chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee's subcommittee on surface transportation, Hartke (up for re-election this year) proposes to investigate the relation of the Penn Central Transportation Co., which is in bankruptcy, and its holding company, the \$7 billion Penn Central Co., which is not. Also, where did all the cash go? Influential members of both Houses—Reuss, Proxmire, Javits, Reid, Barrett, Staggers and others—are likewise interested.

A thoroughgoing investigation of the entire rail financial situation is obviously called for. Before any loans are made to the ailing railroads, the proposal of Senator Javits and Representative Reid for a joint Congressional committee on railroads should be adopted. The Javits-Reid bill specifies that the proceeds of any government loan could be used only for railroad transportation purposes and not for the financial relief of holding companies and banks. The basic need, however, is to air the whole tangled situation, so that the public will know who gets what, and why.

'Voluntary' Taxes

Like many an old saw, the one about the inevitability of death and taxes is perfectly valid. But, also inevitably, men rebel against both these ills, and do what they can to avert or postpone them. One of these evasions is that "voluntary" taxation can largely take the place of the standard levies on real property, income, inheritance, etc. Cities hard pressed for revenue, and states too, are perennially tempted to raise money by licensing gambling, bingo, off-track betting and the like.

In the wake of New York's enactment authorizing off-track betting, other states, Michigan being the latest, seem inclined to follow the same path. It leads nowhere. Off-track betting will *not* raise the revenue it has been expected to raise, any more than the New York lottery has come up to expectations. It will add to the city's problems. We doubt that Mayor Lindsay really favors it. It is more reasonable to suppose that he tossed it into a package of proposals and, rather to his surprise, got caught with it. Fiscally, also, the city of New York is in such a bind that its mayor, Lindsay or any other, is apt to grasp at straws.

It is, indeed, a measure of New York's plight that after resisting off-track betting for twenty years, an enlightened city administration has succumbed to it. If anyone still harbors hopes that the city will be better off with this innovation, he can continue to delude himself by *not* reading Fred J. Cook's article in this issue (p. 9).

The Infrahumans

While the French ruled Indo-China, the Montagnards were widely regarded as infrahuman and prevalent folklore held that these mountain people had tails. We Americans have a more enlightened attitude. We recruit Montagnards and other tribal peoples as mercenaries and set them to killing Communists, thus civilizing both the savages and the Communists.

The French were not unique in their zoology. Extreme exploitation is universally justified on the ground that the exploited are essentially animals, and that this is a genetic condition. For a long time slavery in the United States was openly defended on that ground, and equivalent beliefs are still widely held among upper-class Latin Americans. In an informative article in *The New York Times*, (June 21), H. J. Maidenberger ascribes some of the difficulties of earthquake relief in Peru to the fact that the Indians of the Andean highlands are "considered to be less than human by many people of European stock, who have thus justified their exploitation." He quotes an upper-class Peruvian who lamented the presence of Indians in Lima: "Less than twenty years ago one could sit in Plaza San Martin and have a drink in the evening and not see one dark face. . . . Lima was an elegant and lovely city. Today the animals have taken everything over."

Earthquake relief has been handicapped by the Indians' well-founded distrust of white Peruvians and those of mixed blood. It is still common practice to lure Indian children from rural areas and bring them up as servants in the cities. On the plantations Indians have traditionally been used as beasts of burden. The slave-owning elite lived off their plantations and were highly respected in foreign society for their charming manners and wealth.

As long as the Indians were totally ignorant, they could safely be treated as animals. They are still largely illiterate, but now they have transistor radios. Since the army take-over, the ruling families have lost some of their possessions and power, and many in both the upper and middle classes are emigrating. They are afraid the Indians will take over the country. Their fears are not groundless, nor is Peru the only country where "animals" are emerging from the degradation so profitable for their masters.

Dr. Oppenheimer's Exploratorium

AL RICHMOND

Mr. Richmond is a West Coast journalist and former editor of People's World.

San Francisco

During a week not many weeks ago a bomb was exploded fatally at a San Francisco police station and across the bay a rally of young radicals exploded into a window-smashing rampage through Berkeley's principal shopping district. In that week I visited a museum. This kind of paradox is not new and it has been observed in far more serious contexts; thus the brisk box office at Petrograd's theatres is one of the more commonly remembered facts from John Reed's account of October 1917. Not that San Francisco, despite contrary suggestions in rarefied circles, Right and Left, is Petrograd, or that Berkeley is Smolny. But, at least in its conception, the museum in question is perhaps more concerned with particular cultural tensions of our time than was Petrograd's theatrical fare with those of Reed's day.

The museum, somewhere in the late term of its gestation, is innovative. Its founder and director, Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, calls it an exploratorium, and says there is nothing like it in the world. He believes it will set a new style in museums because it grapples with two problems of contemporary culture: the gap between the arts and sciences, and the gap between man and the technology he has created. (Oppenheimer is uncomfortable with the use of "man" in this generic sense and he attaches the greatest importance to perceiving technology as an outgrowth of nature; he prefers, therefore, to speak of "a gap between people and the natural phenomena that underlie the technology they have created.")

Although the first theme has been widely popularized by C.P. Snow, Oppenheimer says he was not influenced directly by the Briton. He became concerned independently with what he views as something more than "a fundamental gap" between artists and scientists. "It isn't just that they don't understand each other," he says, "they don't even take each other seriously." A response to this situation is implicit in the formal name of the exploratorium—the Palace of Arts and Sciences.

In Oppenheimer's grand design sensory perception is employed as the functional link between art and science. His first published prospectus ("A Rationale for a Science Museum," *Curator*, November 1968) sketched a form of organization which "would involve introducing the various areas of science and technology with sections dealing with the psychology of perception and the artistry associated with the various areas of perception." He envisioned five main sections based on hearing, vision, taste, smell, and on tactile sensations and proprio-sensitive controls ("the basis of balance, locomotion and manipulation"). In detail he said:

The section on hearing might be introduced with a collection of musical instruments. The tonal qualities of

the instruments could be demonstrated or reproduced. There could be a section on everyday sounds and noises which could make people aware of the problems of sound recognition and memory. The details of auditory perception could then be explored with experiments on the frequency and loudness response range and on the determination of sound direction, etc. The thread could then divide in two. One part would explore the physics of sound, that is, the study of vibrations, oscillations, resonance, interference and reflections. The other part would be the physiology and histology of the ear and the associated central nervous system. The final section would then elucidate the technology and the industrial techniques involved in sound reproduction, (thus introducing electronics) speaker and microphone construction, the acoustics of auditoriums and various devices such as hearing aids, telephones, radio, sonar and the like.

Similarly, the section on vision "might start with painting and introduce the idea of perspective and the effects involved in op-art and moiré patterns," and then proceed through the psychology of visual perception, the physics of light and the biology of the eye, to the relevant technology, from optics to electronics. The section on proprio-sensitive controls would begin with dancing, as well as athletics and various balancing skills, to introduce the physiology of muscles and nerves and the related feedback mechanisms and wind up "with the sophisticated technology of control mechanisms in industry and technology."

As the foregoing indicates, the placement of Arts before Sciences in the name of the exploratorium does not denote priority. The primary focus is on science and technology, or, as stated in one piece of exploratorium literature, the purpose is "to make science and technology more understandable and more accessible by synthesizing them with aesthetic and human values." A "What's Happening Here?" message, posted in the exploratorium, advises the visitor: "Today science is so important and technology so complex and pervasive, that people, instead of trying to grasp and use them, dismiss them as incomprehensible and frightening. They see science as a separate world that is harsh, fantastic and mysterious. . . ."

In conversation, Dr. Oppenheimer readily concurs in complaints, so common among the young, against the dehumanizing aspects of modern technology, as symbolized in the transfiguration of the human being into a computer card. Just as readily, he recognizes that no museum can answer the whole range of complex problems occasioned by present-day technology. However, he has profound faith in the social efficacy of helping people to overcome the mystification, fear and hostility with which science-technology is now enveloped.

"If you help them understand science and technology, you give people back some sense of decision over them." One key to de-mystification is the apprehension of tech-

nology, not as separate from nature but as part of it. "Technology itself is a natural phenomenon, man-made things have a natural origin."

Referring to the multilevel variability of understanding, Oppenheimer feels that even if the exploratorium conveys, for the most part, only an elementary understanding, it will be useful; even if it provided no more than a sense of familiarity with science-technology, that would represent progress.

To advance understanding or familiarity, the exploratorium is designed for participation rather than passive observation. As in *Alice in Wonderland*, invitations to do something abound: to turn this dial, to pull this cord, to revolve this wheel (gently, please), to stare at a fixed dot or multicolored light display for twenty to thirty seconds, to catch this falling stick. You do something and something happens, either to the apparatus or your sensory perception. At the most, you have executed an elementary experiment; at the least you have triggered some audio-visual explanation of an instrument or phenomenon you have been observing.

In this learning-by-doing process, Dr. Oppenheimer sets great store by the element of play—a concept he outlines, playfully at times, in a recent paper ("Schools Are Not for Sightseeing"), which argues certain advantages of museums over schools as educational institutions ("No one ever flunks a museum . . . one museum is not a pre-requisite for the next. People do not list museums they have attended on a job application form. . . . Museums are . . . playful places").

Indeed, the sense of play is conspicuous and pervasive at the exploratorium. Of a Sunday afternoon hundreds of people, most of them young, are turning dials or pulling cords or doing any one of the things they are invited to do in a free mixture of curiosity and play.

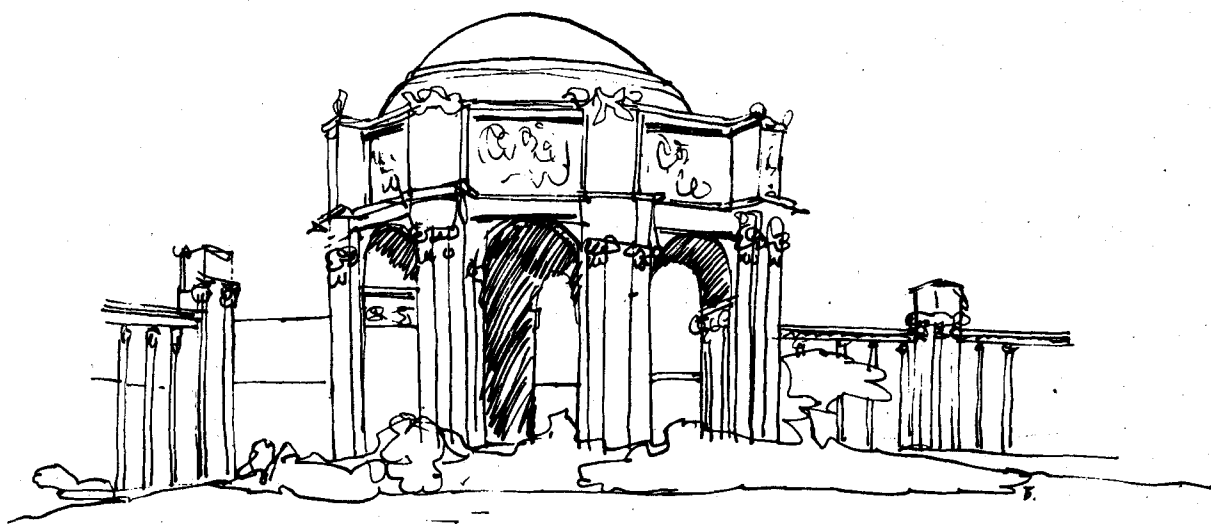
On entering the building, one's sensory perception is first engaged in adjustment to its cavernous immensity; only later do you become aware of individual assaults upon your senses. Most distinctive of the sounds is a steady vibration that is like an atonal hum, but it is not so compelling or attractive as to draw you to its source, and it might be some time before you discover the "Cosmological Harp," whose strings were initially set to vibrating by solar energy. The vision section, at

the northern end of the building, which is constructed on a north-south axis, is more compelling. Its displays of bright lights and brilliant colors, are capped by a multi-film projection of "psychedelic" colors and forms on the northern wall. The visual splendor and some more muted displays, convey fundamental elements of visual perception and optical art—color vision, distance perception, image formation, retinal structure; also polarization, reflective and refractive effects and color projection effects.

When I was last at the museum, the two most elaborate exhibits were, appropriately, the products of the two branches of science-technology that evoke the greatest popular fear and mystification—nuclear physics and cybernetics. The first was mounted by the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center and the second was assembled by the British Institute of Contemporary Arts and staged in London in 1968 as "Cybernetic Serendipity." The latter is about as explicit a synthesis of art and technology as one is likely to find, because much of the exhibit consists of computer-produced drawings, poems and sculpture (elsewhere there are computer-produced musical compositions).

Some drawings are fascinating for their combination of intricacy and detail of design—which are accomplishments readily conceded to a computer—with a free-flowing grace that is surprising. The credits for "The Snail," most effective of these drawings, state that it was produced by Kerry Strand on a Calcomp 770 system with a model 702 flatbed plotter, and that the plotting time was four and a half hours. It would have taken a human being a lot longer.

The poetry confirms that computers have more difficulty with language than with line. The most impressive poem, "Tape Mark I," was produced by feeding into a computer brief extracts from Michihiko Hachiya's *Hiroshima Diary*, Paul Goldwin's *The Mystery of the Elevator*, and Lao-Tzu's *Tao Te Ching*. Guided by 322 punched cards containing 1,200 instructions from Nanni Balestrini, an IBM 7070 computer at the Electronic Center of the Lombard Provinces Savings Banks in Milan emitted these typical lines (as translated from the Italian):



*Head pressed on shoulder, thirty times brighter than the
sun I envisage their return,
until he moved his fingers slowly and while
the multitude
of things come into being, at the summit of the cloud
they all return to their roots and take on
the well-known mushroom shape endeavoring to grasp.*

Over all, the exploratorium at present is only a suggestion of what it is intended to be; not yet the planned and integrated whole of Oppenheimer's design. There has not been enough time or money for that, and since the conception is new there are very few ready-made sources of supply for relevant exhibits. Yet what already exists is something of a miracle, an example of what can be achieved through the efforts of a dedicated, persistent man with a vision.

At about the time that Oppenheimer published his museum manifesto in the *Curator*, he also secured a leave from the University of Colorado Physics Department to explore the possibilities of realizing his design in practice. He was well acquainted with the San Francisco Bay Area, having been with the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California in pre-World War II years. Like many physicists, including his brother, J. Robert, he spent the war years working on the atomic project. After the war he returned to academic life for brief stints at Berkeley and in Minnesota before being blacklisted for his prior political associations and his refusal to perform the sordid services demanded of him by Congressional committees. There followed ten years in the wilderness, or such approximation of wilderness as is represented by a cattle ranch in southern Colorado. In the last two years as rancher, he doubled as a high school teacher in a nearby town.

In the late 1950s Oppenheimer was invited to join the physics faculty at the University of Colorado, but before completing his first decade there he became captivated by his idea for the new kind of museum. So it was that at 56 he returned to the area he had known so well as a young man. He came with an idea, faith and enthusiasm. All he needed was several million dollars, a building to house the exploratorium and sponsorship and organizational apparatus appropriate to so ambitious a venture.

He is here now in the middle of his second year's leave from Colorado. In this relatively brief time he has raised \$99,000, secured an adequate building, assembled a Palace of Arts and Science Foundation with an imposing list of directors, and launched the pilot project which has now been open to the public for almost a year.

The doors were thrown open with little more on hand than the Stanford Linear Accelerator exhibit. Early in October the "Serendipity" exhibit was added, gaining some publicity in the local press. Since then, Oppenheimer estimates, weekly attendance has averaged some 3,000 persons. He is persuaded that presenting to the public a sample of what he has in mind is the best way to muster the necessary support.

The \$99,000 raised thus far is only a token. Some \$500,000 is needed to sustain the project over the next two years, with modest expansion, and Oppenheimer

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer, *The Nation* will not appear on the following dates: July 13, July 27, August 10, August 24.

estimates that a capital outlay of \$2,830,000 (excluding \$585,000 for a theatre, which already has been assured) will be needed to realize the full design, and that thereafter the annual operating budget will be \$400,000. He is sure that the money can be raised, and the confidence is based, in part, on the makeup of the board of the museum foundation. Its twenty-three members are substantial representatives from the sciences (eight scientists, including three Nobel Laureates), from business, from labor, from the arts, and from that ubiquitous category of miscellaneous distinction that is embodied in the term "civic leaders." The board's officers indicate its character: President: Donald McLaughlin, Homestake Mining Co.; vice presidents: William Coblenz, attorney and University of California regent, and J.B. deC.M. Saunders, University of California Medical School; treasurer: Elliott Owens, retired vice president of Owens Illinois Glass Co.; and secretary, Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer, International Longshoremens' and Warehousemen's Union.

The exploratorium's most important tangible asset is its building, which is leased from the city for \$1 a year. This is one of San Francisco's more likable architectural anachronisms, the old Palace of Fine Arts, originally erected for the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 and now its sole surviving monument.

Bernard Maybeck, the architect, said his creation "suggests the romantic, of the period after the classic Renaissance." Anticipating objections from categorical purists, since the building and its environs abound in Greek and Roman touches, Maybeck said that such classifications as "romantic" or "classic" are really a matter of atmosphere, and he explained what it was he intended to convey: "The Palace shows the mortality of grandeur and the vanity of human wishes. A grand, classical ruin with a cloister enclosing nothing, a colonnade without a roof, stairs that ended nowhere, trees that started out of walls . . . the keynote . . . should be that of sadness modified by the feeling that beauty has a soothing influence."

This was conceived of as the environment appropriate for the contemplation of art. To encourage the requisite mood, a huge rotunda and colonnade were erected at the approaches of the main building, so that visitors would not "come directly from a noisy boulevard into collections of pictures, but on the contrary would pass through a gradual transition from the exciting influences of the Fair to the quiet serenity of the galleries."

Since Maybeck's time his palace has suffered many indignities, successively housing eighteen tennis courts, an Army motor pool in World War II, two Fire Department companies, a warehouse for overseas shipments, and a storage depot for the distribution of telephone directories. But it has survived in all its vast size, which made it serviceable for such varied purposes. It rises 48 feet from cement floor to the topmost metal girders of its ceiling,

stretches 1,000 feet from one end to the other of the arc it describes, and is 120 feet wide.

The rotunda and colonnade are still there, restored as Maybeck designed them, but after passing through them the visitor now encounters the sensory impact of modern science-technology, of nuclear physics and cybernetics,

and not "the quiet serenity of the galleries." One wonders how Maybeck might have thought this new tenant related to "the mortality of grandeur and the vanity of human wishes." But Oppenheimer's mood is different: "I have never been associated with anything that I thought more worth while." □

NEW YORK'S OFF-TRACK BETTING

BIG GAMBLE ON GAMBLING

FRED J. COOK

Mr. Cook, for many years a contributor to The Nation, is the author of The Secret Rulers, an examination of Mafia activities in New Jersey. Two of his more recent books are The Plot Against the Patient and What So Proudly We Hailed (both Prentice-Hall).

New York City and the state have taken the big gamble on gambling, and at the moment the only thing certain is that nothing is quite what it seems. Mayor John V. Lindsay charged up to Albany this past winter, calling for legalization of off-track betting and estimating that it would net the city \$50 million in the first year. But now, with the legislation passed, even City Hall sources admit that \$50 million as a starter is optimistic. One of the most powerfully persuasive, two-pronged arguments for legalization was that it would put underworld bookies out of business and end the corruption of the police force. But now, with the law enacted, some bookies are turning handsprings of joy, and law-enforcement officials are almost unanimous in the belief that book-making will survive—and so will corruption.

This murky situation is far distant from the state of virtuous opulence that New Yorkers have been taught to expect by a twenty-year campaign to legalize off-track betting. The tone was set on January 16, 1950, when the late Mayor William O'Dwyer startled the state legislature by calling for the legalization of gambling. O'Dwyer's brief message contained most of the points that were to be repeated in late April of this year when the state legislature approved a measure permitting New York City—and other cities of the state above 125,000 in population, if they approved the proposal in local referendums—to set up official off-track horse race betting parlors. O'Dwyer said that law enforcement had been unable to cope with gambling:

The basic difficulty arises from the widespread human instinct to gamble. . . . To prohibit gambling is simple; to enforce the prohibition, however, raises problems similar to those confronting us in the days of the Prohibition Amendment. Everyone is familiar with the evils surrounding that experiment. . . .

Instead of permitting a situation to exist where the underworld is able and does obtain tremendous sums in carrying on their activities, the State, through regulation and control, should step in and not only obtain large sources of revenue, but also destroy the underworld's last major source of financial support.

The other side of the debate was stated by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, who denounced O'Dwyer's suggestions as "shocking, immoral and indecent." He was appalled that government should seek to prey on the weaknesses of its people by dangling "a lure" before their eyes with the establishment of thousands of shops across the state.

The choice lay, as Dewey saw it, between strong and honest law enforcement, with a restricted system of legal on-track betting, and the turning of all America into a replica of Las Vegas. (Even as New York was legalizing off-track betting, the New Jersey legislature was hearing arguments for a proposal to convert Atlantic City into a "Las Vegas of the East.") Dewey argued that our historical experience had demonstrated that "corruption and poverty" had followed gambling wherever it had been legalized. He recalled that, in colonial times and in the early days of the Republic, lotteries had flourished everywhere. Roads and bridges had been built by lottery-raised funds; churches and universities had been financed by them. But the attendant evils had been so great that state after state, not from moral scruples but from tragic sociological experience, had banned gambling in their constitutions. For these reasons, Dewey was "unalterably opposed" to letting down the bars on gambling in New York.

This remained the attitude of Republican-dominated state legislatures and gubernatorial administrations as hard-pressed mayors of New York periodically pleaded for legal gambling to raise revenue. During the two decades of argument and political sparring, the substance of O'Dwyer's proposal changed. O'Dwyer had called for the legalization of betting on sports events of every description, both amateur and professional. Mayor Robert F. Wagner's administration confined itself to arguing for off-track horse race betting. But the Wagner administration, like the Lindsay administration today, still advanced the attractive claim that official betting shops would take the food out of the bookies' mouths and curb official corruption.

This campaign appealed to a broad cross section of New Yorkers. The burden of the city's multibillion-dollar budget was heavy on almost everyone: business and real estate interests, home owners, even commuters hit by the city income tax. With the tax structure threatening to become confiscatory, the prospect of a new and potentially tremendous source of revenue that would

be painless to everyone except bookies and the underworld was virtually irresistible. Here, then, in summary, is the way the pro and con argument developed:

PRO

(1) Gambling is a natural instinct, and the laws against it are just like Prohibition—an effort to legislate private morals that can only result in another blue-nosed disaster. People should be free to do whatever they want, as long as they inflict no positive harm on anyone else. Law enforcement in this view should be confined to two main objectives: the protection of persons and the protection of property.

(2) The underworld is financed by illegal gambling, and its enormous revenue from this source corrupts government on every level. So take all that money away from them, ruin the underworld, and put an end to corruption. Even in O'Dwyer's day the gross illegal betting handle in the New York metropolitan area was estimated at an incredible \$5 billion annually; today, national estimates, which some sources call conservative, put the underworld's gross take at some \$22 billion a year, with about half of that coming from gambling. Think, say the advocates of legalization, of what we could do for our schools and hard-pressed city governments with all that money.

(3) The present system that makes it legal to bet at the track, but illegal to bet in town is hypocritical and fosters contempt for all law enforcement. This double standard discriminates in favor of the well-to-do against the poorer, working classes. Those who have time and money can go to the track and bet legally; those who can't, but who want to bet on the same horses, must break the law. It's an asinine system, impossible to justify, and must be abolished.

CON

(1) Gambling is not an instinct but a cultivated habit; nor does the analogy with Prohibition apply. Liquor is a definite product, one that had been perfectly legal and respectable through all the ages of man until America banned it as a gesture of self-denial during World War I. A person who buys a bottle of liquor or a drink at a bar knows precisely what he is getting. Drinking, handled sensibly, can serve both health and social purposes. Gambling, on the other hand, is essentially a racket, whether run by the state or the bookie. It is set up so that only the operator can win. (Those millions envisioned by New York mayors do not spring up through cracks in the pavement.) The state clips 16 per cent off the top of the pari-mutuel betting pool on the flat tracks, 17 per cent on the harness tracks—and the result is inevitable. The inveterate bettor who keeps bucking that percentage is bound to go broke, and it is both immoral and socially destructive for government to victimize its citizens and so encourage the growth of an emotional gambling fever among its people.

(2) Every step in the legalization process leads to demands for further legalization. If off-track betting is now legal, why shouldn't betting on the numbers be legalized? Why shouldn't slot machines and casino gambling be legalized? As Governor Dewey said, there is in logic no place to stop; and the choice lies between a society chasing the rainbow of something-for-nothing and

a society in which rewards are based upon work and talent.

(3) Legal off-track betting won't ruin the underworld and end corruption. Horses constitute the lesser part of a bookie's business. Some sources put this play as low as 20 per cent. Far larger sums are wagered on both baseball and football, and basketball draws at least as large a play. Even if legal off-track betting took away every dime of the bookies' horse race business—and not even the most optimistic expect that—the bookies would still be doing business at the same old stands, and paying off for the privilege.

(4) The double standard involved in the legal on-track situation isn't as black and white as proponents of legalization claim. A day at the track can be a social affair and a recreational outing, much like going to the theatre or a baseball game. Betting is part of it, but not the whole of it. On the other hand, off-track betting caters to secret vice—to those who have shady money or are dipping their fingers into the business till; to those who are hooked, but don't want their friends or business acquaintances to know that they are daily plungers, risking hundreds or even thousands of dollars on the outcome of a single ball game or a single race.

Writing in 1965, when off-track betting was again becoming an issue in Albany [*The Nation*, January 18], Milton R. Wessel made the point that "gambling begets more gambling," and predicted that legalization would "prove a tremendous boon to the bookies and the underworld." Mr. Wessel spoke with authority: he had been in charge of a two-year nationwide investigation of organized crime and was chief prosecutor of the 1959 Apalachin "Mafia" trial.

Against this background, it is interesting to trace how the present off-track legalization bill came into being. Mayor Lindsay, faced with an estimated \$630 million city deficit, went up to Albany on a quest for additional hundreds of millions of dollars in state aid. "My impression," says one observer who was fairly close to the situation, "is that the Mayor initially was not greatly interested in the off-track proposal. It was just something that the city had been calling for ever since 1950, and it was thrown into the package along with a variety of other proposals for consideration in Albany."

Governor Rockefeller and leaders of the legislature were shocked by the size of Lindsay's demand, and especially by his call for another heavy rise in real estate taxes and a fivefold increase in the commuter income tax. The legislators balked at the package as a whole, but it was obvious that the city did require enormous new revenue. To obtain it, the Albany conferees were driven toward the off-track betting proposal which at first they had almost ignored. City voters in a referendum some years earlier had voted overwhelmingly for legalization, so that was a "tax" that legislators could vote for without incurring the wrath of anyone. They could always say they were giving New York City voters just what they wanted.

Nevertheless, after the bill had been passed and signed into law, Governor Rockefeller was obviously ill at ease. In a television interview, he acknowledged that he had always opposed off-track betting; he had been



brought up, he said, to believe that gambling was wrong. But then he had recalled that his father, an ardent Prohibitionist, had changed his mind when he saw the harm Prohibition was doing. Perhaps, said the Governor, he was similarly wrong about gambling. Advocates of the bill had argued that it would cripple the mob; if true, that would be a gain. And, finally, the Governor explained, New York City simply had to have additional huge sources of revenue, and there just seemed to be no other way to get it.

The bill that the legislature passed and the Governor approved did more than legalize off-track betting in cities that approve it by local option; it also revamped the existing state lottery system. The lottery, which has been charging \$1 a ticket for monthly drawings, is now authorized to cut the ticket price and hold more frequent drawings. It was proposed that tickets be reduced to as little as 25¢ and sold through vending machines, and that drawings be held on a weekly or semi-weekly basis. This revision is a tacit admission that the lottery has not raised anything approaching the revenue its champions foresaw. It is now hoped that the lower price and more frequent drawings will make it a more effective competitor with the illegal numbers racket.

While the details remain to be worked out, one gets a fairly clear picture of how New York City's off-track parlors will operate. About 100 betting shops will be established in various sections of the city. They must not be located near churches, schools or unemployment

insurance offices. No drinks or beverages can be served; no radio or television accounts of the races given. These are to be "antiseptic" betting parlors, with loitering discouraged after one has placed one's bet. There will be no credit. Bets may be phoned in, but only if the bettor has put up a deposit on which to draw.

Setting up the system will be a formidable job. Not only must the 100 locations be rented but some 5,000 personnel must be hired, and sophisticated electronic equipment installed to funnel the betting play into the local tracks, where the odds will be affected. A special task force named by Mayor Lindsay to speed the process hopes to get the first shop opened by October 1, by which time much of this year's racing season will be over. However, enthusiasts still talk of reaping something like \$200 million a year (which would mean the city would have to handle \$1.25 billion a year in bets) when the full system is operating. By which time, they add, the bookies will have left town and official corruption will be a dark memory.

The bookies don't seem to think so. "This is the best thing that ever happened to us," one said. "People are going to bet who never bet before—and a lot of them are going to begin betting with us. I figure it should double my business." Others were less euphoric, but few thought they would be hurt. Their hunch is that customers who bet \$500 on a single race will not want Internal Revenue sticking its nose into their business. And besides there are all those other sports.

A City Hall spokesman, asked about those other sports, took several hours for research before coming back with this reply: "The administration does not have a philosophy or any position on the extension of legalized gambling at this time. Having just gotten over the first hurdle, we're having all we can do to get the system started; we're occupied with the immediate problem. So we don't want to get into it, though we recognize the whole question will have to be faced ultimately."

Common sense suggests that perhaps the whole question should have been faced previously. And a lot of people in the field think there are such obvious clinkers in the city's proposals that its off-track betting shops cannot possibly bring in the kind of revenue that has been projected. One law-enforcement official who worked at a track for five years to help earn his way through college has expressed his reservations this way:

"I think the bookies will love this because more people are going to be betting, and the more who bet, the more action they're going to get. Even if you legalized everything—betting on baseball, football, all sporting events—I doubt that you'll put the bookies out of business. Look at it this way: as it is now, the New York and New Jersey tracks have some of the best security procedures in the world in my opinion; they are really good. They kick every suspicious character they find off the tracks—and still, every so often, you'll read where they've nabbed bookies doing business right at the tracks. Why? The bookies wouldn't be there if they weren't doing business. They must have something going for them."

The morgue-like atmosphere planned for the city's betting parlors makes this expert shake his head. It is axiomatic among gamblers that you build up the big

play—the kind the city must have to get its revenue—only by “churning.” This is a process that keeps the customers hooked, getting them to bet race after race. In 1962 a master bookie told the U.S. Senate’s McClellan committee that he paid \$300 every two weeks to get the fast Delaware Wire Service report on track results. Then he would embellish this bare-bones flash with an imaginary description of the race that he passed on to his customers. “You made a running description to make the business go,” he said. “Otherwise it is drab. The customers [his lower-echelon bookies] can’t keep their players.” The New York expert agrees. To make the city’s official bet shops work, they would have to “churn” the action by showing closed-circuit TV pictures of the races and perhaps by offering drinks and other refreshments. Treat them like clinic patients, and the gamblers will go home to the bookies.

Aside from whether the new city system will work, there remain the larger social issues involved in this extension of legalized gambling. Alfred J. Scotti, long-time head of the rackets bureau in the office of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, sees potential disasters in both the off-track legalization and the extension of the state lottery system. He believes that stolen money or unreported tax money will continue to be played with the bookies; that the need to report winnings from an official betting pool will keep the big plungers away. “And,” Scotti adds, “I’m convinced that the system will have a corrosive effect on the whole moral fiber of the community. You will be inducing people to bet, encouraging them to believe they can get something for nothing. The results, I’m afraid, can be disastrous.”

Scotti takes an even more pessimistic view of the plan for an expanded state lottery. Unless such a lottery is run on a daily basis, something not now contemplated, it will not put the numbers runners out of business because playing the numbers is a daily addiction. Furthermore, Scotti says: “Morally, this can be worse than off-track betting. . . . Even the school children will be playing the vending machines, out for a quick buck. Everyone will be seeking something for nothing, and it will encourage inertia, discourage using one’s energies and abilities to work and do something useful. This could make us so completely money-conscious that it frightens me, and it may convert all of us to the mentality of the criminal. I oppose this even more than off-track betting.”

Scotti has expressed these views to a class he teaches at the New School for Social Research. His students, he says, are of above-average intelligence and knowledge—schoolteachers, sociologists, psychologists, policemen, even FBI agents. Both last year and this, after he had finished lecturing on the gambling evil, his class took a vote on how it felt. “Last year they split 50-50. This year, about 70 per cent voted for legalization. I was shocked.”

I encountered a similar reaction a couple of months ago when I spoke on the subject of organized crime to a group of liberal-minded, concerned citizens of above-average intelligence. After I had finished, the questions came, and it was obvious that the only arguments that had registered with a good part of my audience were those clichés about human nature, Prohibition and crip-

pling the underworld that have been used for decades with such great effect by proponents of legalization.

My experience with this issue goes back to the early 1930s when, as a cub reporter, I covered one of the first meetings called to build support for legalizing pari-mutuel betting in New Jersey, a prerequisite to reopening the old Monmouth Park track at Oceanport. There were numbers betting and horse race betting with the bookies in those days, there was evidence of police corruption without which such activities cannot long flourish; and one of the arguments advanced at the time—which I thought persuasive—was that, if pari-mutuels were legalized, persons who wanted to bet could go to the tracks and work off their gambling urges. Along with the great majority of the New Jersey electorate, I voted to change the state constitution and permit pari-mutuel wagering.

The results, in the record for anyone to read, have been almost the opposite of what proponents of legalization promised. Next to Prohibition, the greatest boon to the mob in this century has undoubtedly been the pari-mutuels. For, as a number of law-enforcement officials say when discussing both gambling and narcotics, “addicts create addicts”—and it makes little difference from the standpoint of spreading the habit whether the activity is legal or illegal.

The experience in Massachusetts is typical. In 1933 a crime commission studying conditions in the state did not even mention gambling and bookmaking as significant problems. Two years later, like a number of other states desperately seeking additional revenues in the midst of a depression, Massachusetts legalized pari-mutuels. The result, as another Massachusetts crime commission reported in 1957 after a four-year study, was a wave of large-scale gambling. This later commission dated “the beginning and growth in Massachusetts of the huge business under consideration” from the legalization of pari-mutuels.

Virgil W. Peterson, veteran director of the Chicago Crime Commission, years ago published a monograph, “Why Honest People Steal,” his findings being based on a survey of surety companies in every part of the United States. Asked to rate the causes of embezzlement, one of the nation’s fastest growing crimes, these companies placed gambling first, followed by extravagant living, unusual family expenses, undesirable associates and inadequate income. “Some companies,” Peterson wrote, “estimated that gambling on the part of employees has been responsible for 30 per cent of the losses of those companies. Other companies blamed gambling for as high as 75 per cent of their total losses.”

I can recall at random a large building and loan association that had to be reorganized, a bank that was so looted it failed, and several flourishing businesses that suddenly plunged downhill into bankruptcy—all because some high executives became hooked on horses. Because of such experiences I cannot agree that gambling should be a matter of individual choice; that it hurts no one but the gambler. On the contrary, the record says that it brings with it a cargo of social evils.

This has been proved nowhere more clearly than in Nevada, where gambling has been carried to its logical conclusion. Legalization in Nevada did not drive out

the underworld; the underworld took advantage of the opportunity to become legitimate. From the moment when the late Benjamin (Bugsy) Siegel opened his gaudy Flamingo, some of the flashiest Las Vegas casinos have been run by the mob from behind innocent-appearing fronts. As Virgil Peterson wrote: "Legalized gambling has always been attractive to the criminal and racketeering elements. The migration of many of the nation's biggest racketeers to Nevada, where gambling is legal, is the logical and inevitable result of legalization schemes."

Year after year, the Uniform Crime Reports of the FBI put Nevada right up with New York and California in crimes per 100,000 population. Financial crimes—robbery, burglary, larceny—are exceptionally high. In a typical recent year, the Nevada figures showed 2,360.2 crimes per 100,000 to New York's 2,399.6. Its robbery figure was considerably below New York's, but its

burglary rate was 931.5 to New York's 940.9, and its larceny rate was 826 to New York's 795.5. Nevada rates are consistently higher than—sometimes more than double—similar rates in the neighboring states of Arizona, Utah and Idaho. The suicide rate in Nevada is usually among the highest in the nation.

Such statistics reinforce Peterson's contention that "from the time of antiquity mass gambling has been a social and economic evil," and that "almost every civilized nation has at one time or another found it necessary to enact prohibitory laws." And they underline the wisdom of Alexis de Tocqueville's observation in *Democracy in America* that governments "must practically teach the community day by day that wealth, fame and power are the rewards of labor, that great success stands at the utmost range of long desires, and that there is nothing lasting but what is obtained by toil." □

MEXICO VOTES 'SI'

'REVOLUTIONARY' ESTABLISHMENT

LEO FENSTER

For the last fourteen years Mr. Fenster has made regular trips to Latin America. This is his second report to The Nation from Mexico.

Mexico will go to the polls on Sunday, July 5, and Luis Echeverría Alvarez will be the new President. It is exactly that predictable. Nowhere in Latin America is the electoral process so firmly established; for almost half a century Presidents have been replacing one another at the ballot box under conditions of acceptable law and order. But the winner is always the candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). If Echeverría had done nothing but stay at home after his nomination on November 15 of last year he would still be an overwhelming winner.

There are literally millions of Echeverría signs throughout the nation. Mountainsides carry magnificently engineered Echeverría paintings; almost every tree potentially visible to even a small group of people has been white-washed and an Echeverría name or slogan sketched on it; every government structure displays Echeverría's name or LEA, his initials, in bold script; all walls, stores, taxis, buses, streetcars, buildings, schools carry the legend.

Newspaper coverage is not so completely one-sided, but it is bad enough. In forty issues between March 14 and April 28, *Universal*, a leading daily in Mexico, carried seventy-one front-page stories about Echeverría and only twenty-two about his opponent. Moreover, the former were always far more prominently displayed. Only one picture of the opponent appeared in all these issues but one-page and two-page picture spreads of the PRI candidate were common.

In addition to his normal advantages, Echeverría received two windfalls in mid-April when the two minor

but substantial parties to his left chose him as their candidate. The Popular Socialist Party (PPS) and the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM) are driving to get a million votes apiece for him on their respective columns.

Despite the predictability of the result, the election campaign is the most energetic in recent Mexican history. Echeverría has made it into a spectacular endurance performance by presenting himself in a whirling one-man show.

Before the end of the campaign he will have been on the road seven months, will have traveled possibly 40,000 miles, and will have taken part in close to 1,000 speeches, interviews, seminars and forums. He gets off the highways, bumping along potholed gravel roads, up burro paths, and into jungle confinements. He stands and talks with people, answers questions. It is a body-breaking stint. What makes Echeverría run?

The fact is that, although it knows it can win the election, the PRI can no longer be sure that it can govern the country. Mexico's mood today is exceedingly grim. The background is comprised of an unnerving economic stalemate, despite a statistical display of adequate growth; an alarming extension of governmental repression and violence, and the obvious, dejected skepticism which has afflicted the submerged nine-tenths of the nation as it has listened to the revolutionary parrot rhetoric of the past.

Year after year in the 1960s, the government announced an annual growth in the gross national product of 6.5 to 7 per cent. This would indicate a doubling of the GNP in the decade, a marvelously fruitful economic harvest which should have produced an abundant upturn in the living standards of the Mexican people and a flood of

available capital. But neither abundance nor flood is visible. The standards of the people have not improved; indeed, the conditions of the peasants have admittedly deteriorated. A comparative handful of auto and oil workers earn \$4 and \$5 a day, and very few craftsmen reach \$6.40 (less than an hour's wages in the United States); but the great mass of workers, urban and farmer, bring home less than \$2 a day.

What does \$2 buy in the way of food? About what it buys in the United States, although bread, bananas, tomatoes and beans are substantially cheaper. Mexican shoes and completely indigenous clothes are also comparatively cheap, but what is there left over with which to buy them? And in what kind of home does the Mexican live? Three-fourths of the population cannot be said to live in "homes" at all. They exist crowded into one-room shacks, waterless, often as not on bare earth. This is Mexico after ten years of "progress," proclaimed in terms of industrialization and a soaring GNP.

When one begins to squeeze the water from the optimistic statistics, it fairly pours. For a start, Mexico now has more than 50 million people and the population growth is 3.6 per cent a year. That in itself wipes out more than half of the GNP increase. Manufacturing has advanced, but with the exception of radios and a handful of other items, the boost these products give the GNP figure is an illusion in actuality. The auto industry raises the GNP by 350 million worthless dollars by the fact that a \$3,000 auto, when made in Mexico, costs between \$6,000 and \$6,500 [see Fenster: "Mexican Auto Swindle," *The Nation*, June 2, 1969]. The same is true of refrigerators, TVs, tractors and a host of other items. Mexico has one of the world's more extensive highway networks. There are 42,000 miles of paved roads, many times that of Italy, for example. Building and maintaining this system elevates the annual GNP, but except in areas immediately outside Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey, the roads are an investment for the future and a drain on the present.

Any Mexican hard-goods industry of any size is today owned outright by foreign interests. But outside capital is now also bossing light industry and the consumer fields. The food chain known as Maxi's is Rockefeller's; the Sanborn Hermanos waving the Mexican flag is nevertheless 100 per cent Walgreen's; Denny's has spilled over from Western United States; Bobbie Brooks has both feet in the clothing industry. The list is endless and growing. A Mexican periodical, *Cuadernos Americanos*, recently ran a sensational article in which it demonstrated, plant by plant, that almost every Brazilian independent manufacturing concern had been taken over completely by foreign interests since the "revolution" had deposed Goulart. I recalled Aesop, trying to draw a lesson for his masters by ridiculing the foolish animals (Brazilians) when he was referring indeed to human beings (Mexicans). The "foreignization" of the Mexican economy is carried out often enough in the open, but when discretion is deemed essential, it is masked by the use of *prestanombres*, name lenders. This new breed of professionals fronts for alien enterprises to bemuse the law.

Despite the high-speed urbanization of its population,

the Mexican economy is still basically agricultural. The strong outward flow of industrial revenue has produced overdependence on the land. Food production has kept pace with the population growth, which in itself guarantees no more than continued widespread hunger. But in addition, a great deal of the food produced must be exported in order to pay for industrial products and to maintain a reasonable balance of payments. This means that a great many hours of *campesino* labor is exchanged at par for each hour of highly industrialized labor. Obviously, the *campesino* remains poor. Still another factor has trapped the farm population: arable land available for distribution has just about run out. Today there are 3.5 million farm hands with a right to land, but there is no land to give them. Ten years from now this landless figure will rise to 5.5 million, about 62 per cent of the working peasants.

Under such circumstances, and with the incidental existence of good roads, the migration to the cities has been crushing. The combined result is overwhelming unemployment in the cities and devastating joblessness in the countryside. Close to 40 per cent of Mexicans are unemployed; the average Mexican income is \$120 a year. If a man spent all of it on food he would have far less than enough. It is out of the hides of these people that Mexican industry must squeeze its capital, ironically comments Dr. Edmundo Flores in a series of articles in *Universal*. Many are placing the blame directly on foreign investment. Says the influential daily *Excelsior*: "Latin American investments add greatly to the economy of the United States, but this does not realize nearly as much for our countries. . . . In the past 30 years U.S. monopolies have taken out more than . . . three times investment. The profits realized by U.S. capital in Latin America are from 50 to 200% higher than the same amounts invested in the United States. . . . Who is helping whom? The United States, Latin America? Or Latin America the United States?"

It is in this atmosphere of bitter contrast between glamorous statistic and morbid reality that the Diaz Ordaz administration is closing out its six years of rule. It has been a highly unpopular government; nobody pays heed to the ritualistic monotone of praise from the press. It has been a cruel regime. The protests of the people have been answered with extra-legal violence, judicial manipulation and clumsy frame-ups. No one doubts that after the students laid down their arms in October 1968 so that the Olympics might begin—and there were some arms—the army was given high government sanction to move in and massacre hundreds. Today, almost two years later, more than 100 students remain in jail awaiting trial. By Mexican law an individual charged with aggregate crimes, whose total possible maximum sentence is five years or more, cannot obtain bail. It is obviously easy to string together some charges so that the possible sentences amount to five years, but the constitution provides that in such an event the trial must take place within one year. This feature of the law is disregarded—no bail and no trial.

Frustrations have on occasion spilled over into strong protests, especially in the economically battered areas of Yucatán and the Northwest. These were forcibly sup-



Luis Echeverría Álvarez

pressed. In Mérida, the big city of Yucatán, the unbelievable happened: a mayor of the opposition PAN was elected. In Hermosillo of the northwest state of Sonora the Mayor remains PRI but the rest of the administration is PAN.

The invincible PRI is understandably frightened, and inner strains have developed. Carlos Madrazo, considered by many a reform leader, was removed as its chairman. Originally from Yucatán, he refused to accept his dismissal and began to gather a coterie of supporters to fight the institution, a defiance unheard of in Mexico. He had not yet established the direction of his struggle when he and a large group of his aides were killed in a plane explosion last fall. So saturated with cynicism is the Mexican political atmosphere that, although there is no known shred of evidence to suggest murder, the average Mexican will contort his mouth, raise his eyebrows, shrug his shoulders and grunt enigmatically when the accident is mentioned.

One can speculate aimlessly and unjustly about the death of Madrazo, but it would be naive not to see a clumsy frame-up in the *Por Qué?* affair.

In July of 1968 the two Menéndez brothers, Roger and Carlos, inaugurated the weekly *Por Qué?* They were from a long-established, upper-class family in Yucatán, which had founded and still ran the Yucatán Peninsula's daily newspaper. They were educated in Holy Cross High School in New Orleans and graduated from Tulane University. The brothers returned to Yucatán to take up newspaper work, then left for Mexico City where they quickly established themselves as daring, innovative journalists. They soon founded their own weekly, a brilliant, uninhibited magazine whose circulation soared. It reached 380,000, the highest in Mexican history if comic books

and near pornography are excluded. On a comparable basis (population, literacy and money available) that equals a U.S. circulation of about 6 million. Established weeklies like *Siempre* and *Sucesos* have average runs of 45,000 and 25,000 respectively.

The Mexican press is relatively free, if one is willing to accept the fact that it is almost all committed to the party in power. But free or not, there is one inviolate, unwritten rule: you may criticize anyone, Senators, deputies and government figures included; but under no circumstance dare you criticize the President himself. Even comparatively independent dailies like *Excelsior* and *El Día* and a liberal weekly such as *Sucesos* observe this rule. *Por Qué?* broke it as with a sledgehammer: it ran a story blaming Diaz Ordaz directly for the atrocities committed on the students.

The roof fell in. First, *Por Qué?*'s paper supply was cut off. Paper is distributed by a government-directed agency at the subsidized price of 21¢ a kilo. The weekly was using 60 tons a month. It sought paper in the private market, going as far afield as the United States, Canada, Finland and Chile. It had to pay 35¢ a kilo for inferior paper, cut the issue from 64 to 32 pages, and reduce the weekly run to a top of 130,000. But it kept coming out.

The large print shops were then warned off against handling *Por Qué?* It set up its own printing plant in Tlalpan and continued to appear. The post office outside Mexico City withdrew all service. The magazine cut its subscription list to 6,000 inside the city and established its circulation on a kiosk basis countrywide.

The news distributors outside the city were warned off; *Por Qué?* bought trucks and distributed on its own to the population centers. One truck with 50,000 copies was hijacked. Another 20,000 copies were intercepted before they reached Yucatán. Still another 20,000 were dumped on the avenida Río Consulado. But the intrepid brothers and their staff would not quit. The weekly continued to publish.



Diaz Ordaz

Exposés continued, the articles spanning the political spectrum. Occasional stories praised figures of the supposedly right-wing PAN; at other times Vallejo, the imprisoned railroad union leader and an alleged Communist, was permitted the columns of the weekly. Roger Menéndez denied that his was a PAN paper; he justified occasional favorable articles on the basis of individual personalities, specific issues.

In the fall of 1969 and winter of 1970 a series of explosions took place in Mexico City at the *Por Qué?* building, at some newspaper offices and at the PAN office. In mid-February Mexican police made a street arrest of Carlos Menéndez and four of his staff, and charged them with the bombings. The police said that three of the five confessed, one denied any confession; the others simply declared that they had been held incommunicado for five days. The case against Carlos Menéndez collapsed when it was shown by unimpeachable evidence that he had been many hundreds of miles away in Mérida when he was supposed to have been in Mexico City. His witnesses included the mayor of the city, the governor of the state and a notary.

The government then changed its story to charge him with "philosophical" responsibility for the bombings. It claimed, further, that he had conspired in Yucatán to set up a guerrilla army. Proof: five high school students with whom he had gone camping armed with knapsacks and a tent. None of the five "co-conspirators" was imprisoned. One of them, Allen Urbina, was later given a good government job. The case against Carlos Menéndez appeared totally transparent. But it became evident that President Díaz Ordaz himself had ordered at least the second charge.

A few days later Carlos Menéndez's prestigious attorney, José Rojo Coronado, also attorney for many of the imprisoned students, fled to the Chilean Embassy, declared that his person was in danger, and asked for political asylum. It was granted. There were more head-

lines, more gloom among large groups of Mexicans, and diminished belief in the continuing vitality of the Mexican Revolution and its democracy.

It is against this panorama that Efraín González Morfín is making his bid for the Presidency. A linguist and a scholar, he has conducted a campaign strikingly out of context with the reactionary label formerly applied to his party. Questioned on diplomatic recognition of Cuba, Franco Spain and the Vatican, he answered: "Cuba, yes, the other two, no." He has consistently pointed to "the imperialism of mixed blessings" as the burden of underdeveloped nations. Foreign investments "do not produce a net gain in favor of Mexico." He warns against the disastrous outflow of capital in the form of dividends, patent rights and technical assistance and demands the mandatory national reinvestment of all profits. Of the standard of living he asserts categorically that it has not improved. About the land he declares that the revolution has been betrayed because the feudal interests have retained power. He demonstrates that 18 million people comprising *campesino* families "live on the margin of the economy, subsisting on only what little they can scrounge." He calls for the freedom of all political prisoners, proclaims himself in alliance with the students, and asks for their votes.

Some Mexicans even declare that, in the few spots where PAN has power, it is persecuting anti-Communists. González Morfín replies that he can countenance socialism so long as it is not of the Marxist variety. He favors national ownership of public utilities and major industries. But the truth is that he is not a Socialist and the PAN political organization of Mexican business has not changed its outlook. What really seems to have happened is a Mexican counterpart of the Peruvian and Bolivian models. Frightened by what befell Brazilian business and industrial interests, indigenous business in Peru and Bolivia chanced a new tactic designed to undercut the power of foreign capital. To establish a viable people's base it has had to take long steps in the direction of reform, particularly land reform. That is the road that González Morfín urges for Mexico. The irony is that PRI, the party of the revolution, now finds itself caught in the embrace of big foreign investment.

PRI chooses its Presidential candidate, hence the next President of Mexico, in the equivalent of smoke-filled rooms. The current President, all living and past Presidents, the labor, farm and business leaders are consulted. The decision is made *in camera* and presented to the formal party convention for unanimous approval. There are more than enough leaks to indicate that considerable infighting took place before Luis Echeverría was picked. Díaz Ordaz apparently wanted to be succeeded by General Alfonso Corona del Rosal, the Mayor of Mexico City, who presided at the suppression of the student uprisings. But wiser heads insisted that the party and the nation needed, not a stern father but a man who could show some human sympathy and concern. They were able to win only after extreme pressure and days of delay. Echeverría is said to have had his name seriously entered only near the end; he has proved to be a wise choice.

There is evidence that before the formal choice was



Efraín González Morfín

made, Echeverría had told the party leaders that an intense and massive campaign was essential, and that may have won him the nomination. He has conducted the campaign with humility and surprising candor. More than once he has abruptly waved aside local party functionaries who sought to spare him the embarrassment of bold, incautious questions. "Let them talk, let them tell me," he has ordered.

He has admitted repeatedly that economic justice has not been attained for the Mexican people. The whole thrust of the economy, he has insisted, must be in the direction of solving problems for those who are the most thwarted and poverty-crushed. Last month he confirmed to a special conference that more than 15.5 million Mexicans were starving. In a cry to the youth he has called for nonconformity. "We cannot be conformist before the great eagerness which our revolution has unleashed." Early in June he set up a compromise with striking students in Durango which permitted them to return to their studies on the basis of a continuing "nonconformist" approach.

But just as Humphrey had his jealous Johnson in the White House, Echeverría has his sour Diaz Ordaz. Often enough a daring speech is followed by one of obeisance. The day after his disavowal of conformity he said that Diaz Ordaz had reconciled order with freedom. On the

question of foreign capital, he indicates no departure from the past ten years or more. "We shall go ahead with the Mexicanization of industry and technology. It is a continuing process, necessary to establish an independent Mexico. . . . [But] we must permit the continuation of technology from other countries in order to provide economic development. . . . I have no dogmatic truth, we have to fertilize with doubts, separating ourselves from satisfaction and conformity." Echeverría speaks like a man with a problem.

No one says a good word for Diaz Ordaz, but a great many have rising hopes for the new man. To them he seems a different breed. The gas-station attendant, the entrepreneur, the taxi driver, the hotel and restaurant worker, the store clerk, the fisherman—most see him as turning things around.

As for González Morfín, he may well get more than his normal share of votes, but at the moment he seems a promise waiting at the gates—someone who can be called upon if conditions do not improve.

It will take more than good men to reverse Mexico's direction. This country which has pursued a heroic bootstrap operation for thirty-five years finds that it must explore new, uncharted and dangerous economic roads. It must innovate even as Peru and Bolivia and Cuba are doing, each in its own way. □

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

PRICE TO THE HOST COUNTRY

MICHAEL TANZER and ARTHUR J. CORDELL

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While academic students of international trade theory have been concentrating on exports and imports of products, another type of international activity, direct foreign investment by multinational corporations, has been increasing at a dramatic rate. Thus, for example, in 1967, IBM had production facilities in fourteen countries and 34 per cent of its assets were located abroad; 30 per cent of its sales and 32 per cent of its net income came from foreign operations. With production facilities in sixty countries, half of the assets, sales and profits of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) were foreign-based. The major oil companies, as always, are even more heavily involved in overseas operations. Standard Oil of New Jersey, with production facilities in forty-five countries, has 56 per cent of its total assets abroad, generating 68 per cent of its sales and 52 per cent of its net income.

Much has been written about the promise held out by the multinational corporation for the progress of less

developed countries. It is said to be a central force in the international transfer of capital. Further, it acts as an agent in the transfer of technology from rich nations to poor nations. The typical efficient multinational corporation is also alleged to bring with it a high degree of organizational competence. The proponents of multinational enterprise see this institution spreading new management skills around the world, since host country nationals can work in the subsidiary, learning while they earn. The potential contributions of the multinational corporation were described in the *Saturday Review* (Nov. 22, 1969):

They provide a network of interconnected conduits that facilitate optimum utilization of financial and technical resources. Indeed, these multinational corporations that have developed so quietly, but so suddenly, may be the hoped-for force that will ultimately provide a means of unifying and reconciling the aspirations of mankind—a task which all the politicians have utterly failed to achieve.

Few writers, however, examine the perils or costs to the host country that might be associated with these benefits. These can be seen as possible threats to its political, cultural or economic sovereignty, as well as to its long-run economic development. Even though these facts are clearly interrelated, this article will make no attempt to analyze political or cultural factors, assuming that certain economic threats can be discussed separately.

These may be roughly divided into two groups, according to whether they are perceived as direct and tangible or indirect and intangible. In the first category we consider particularly the balance of payments problem, along with its possible exacerbation through manipulation of intra-company prices and international tax "loopholes." Among the more intangible dangers, which are usually more long run, we emphasize the potential "lost" opportunities to the host country stemming from foreign exploitation of the most profitable investments, a managerial and scientific "brain drain," and the discouragement of indigenous research and development. Finally, we discuss a crucial danger which cuts across both of these groups and touches on broader issues: the loss of control of the host country's economy to foreign groups.

Balance of Payments. An integral element of foreign investment is remittance of profits or dividends from the host country to the home country of the multinational corporation. A lesser-known aspect of multinational operations is the extent to which materials are imported from the parent country. The well-known management consultant, Peter F. Drucker, holds in his recent *The Age of Discontinuity*:

The multinational company is exceedingly profitable for the United States. Every dollar invested in a subsidiary abroad leads to many dollars of American exports within a very short time, in addition to a flow of dividends. In fact, investment abroad during the last twenty years has fueled full employment in the United States, quite apart from making possible the maintenance of an American foreign policy based on lavish expenditures of money, largely earned by the multinational companies through the exports and dividends they generate. *Altogether the foreign-exchange earnings of the American-based, multinational corporation have become the largest source of income in the American balance of payments.* (Emphasis added.)

Thus the presence of direct foreign investment can often lead to pressure on the host country's balance of payments. Host countries sometimes attempt to control these pressures but, as we shall show, the corporation can get around this quite easily. A situation can therefore arise where more foreign capital is sought to cover the outflow caused by existing foreign investment. Such a country has become hooked on the "narcotic" of foreign investment.

A basic sequence of events would be the drying up of foreign investment opportunities, the diminishing inflow of new foreign capital, the continuing remittance of profits and dividends, leading to a balance of payments crisis. The final effect could range from devaluation to restrictions on profit remittances (a form of partial expropriation) all the way to nationalization of foreign industry. Other outcomes can be envisioned—the point is that seeking new foreign investment to cover the foreign exchange needs of present ones seems to be a "no win" game.

Intra-Company Transfer Prices. When resources are shifted from one part of the multinational corporation to another, rational management dictates that one arm of the corporation should charge another arm a price for the goods or services exchanged. This is all well and good, except that the "transfer" price is not necessarily a mar-

ket price, nor is it negotiated by "arm's length bargaining." The primary consideration which enters into the parent company's determination of this price is maximum profit for the multinational corporation as a whole. Moreover, the artificial prices are often unknown to the host countries involved. Hence it is obvious that intra-company transactions can be a vehicle for "shifting" earnings from the host country to either low-tax countries or perhaps to the parent country itself, at the expense of the host country's balance of payments and tax collections.

As nations react to the great manipulative potential inherent in international operations by more closely examining the books of the subsidiary, new methods are devised to shift earnings. An effective device is to charge subsidiaries for "services" supposedly provided by the parent company. For example, charges are made for real and not so real research and development performed by laboratories attached to the parent company. The true value of these services is difficult to measure from outside the company, which makes them particularly useful from the parent's viewpoint.

International Taxation: In the pursuit of maximum profit, the multinational corporation normally chooses to attribute as much of its profits as possible to its operations in countries with the lowest tax rates. This desire to minimize tax payments has led to a growing competition among less developed countries in providing tax havens. Thus C. P. Kindleberger notes in his *American Business Abroad*:

Just as some states with no notable economic advantages cut prices on incorporation or corporate taxes to attract companies to make their headquarters there, so countries will compete for the international corporation. Luxembourg, Liechtenstein, the Bahamas, and a number of Swiss cantons are rivals for the position among countries that Delaware has among States.

The host country with the highest tax rate obviously has the most to fear. Those who see the multinational corporation as the emerging institution in the future world—becoming more important even than the nation-state—cite the tax haven problem as yet another reason why international rules of conduct should be applied to all corporations engaged in foreign investment. In the long run this may come to pass, but the run may be too long for nations whose economies may be severely damaged by this type of behavior.

Lost Opportunities: Profitable Investments. Multinational corporations normally seek a higher profit rate from investments in less developed countries than they require from investments in their home country. This practice is justified primarily as "compensation" for the presumed greater risk of investment in less developed countries. Thus the typical multinational corporation will require a return of 15 to 25 per cent per year in order to induce it to invest outside the parent country. Unfortunately for the host country, this means that foreign investment tends to concentrate in the most profitable sectors of its economy. These are the very sectors which, if exploited by host country entrepreneurs (whether government or private), could generate large profits to stimulate overall economic development.

For many underdeveloped countries the highly profitable investment opportunities are in the extractive industries (e.g., oil, copper). Since minerals are irreplaceable resources, if the main result of tapping them is a continuing outflow of profits and dividends to foreigners, the host country may be selling its future to the multinational corporations.

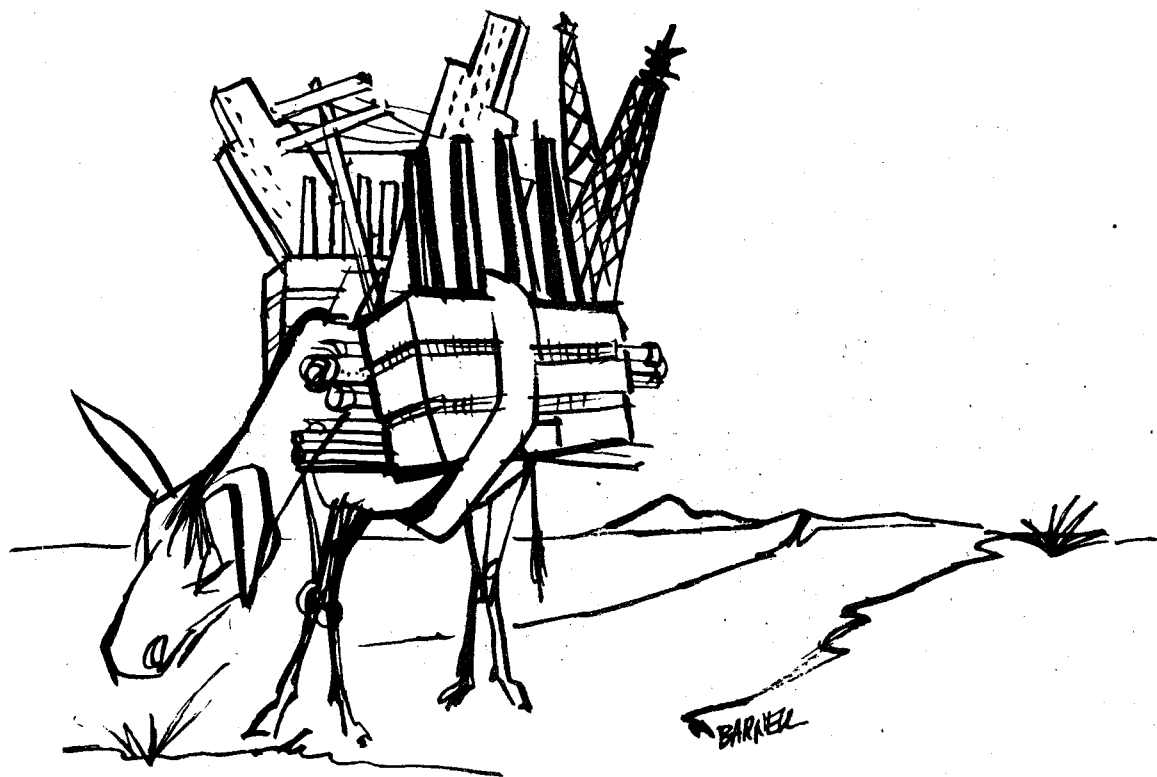
The Brain Drain. One of the proclaimed benefits of the multinational corporation is the spread of organizational skills to indigenous management in the host country. In fact this process frequently does operate and local managers quickly learn and become imbued with modern managerial techniques. This indoctrination and learning process is, however, a double-edged sword. The subsidiary is one operation of many under the general direction of headquarters, and bright young executives (financial, production, marketing, research) rise rapidly. Since good managerial talent is scarce everywhere, an able man soon is in the head office or in a third country subsidiary.

Parent country economists, public relations men, social commentators, et al., see this phenomenon as giving "everyone a chance to rise in the corporation" or "international boundaries are slowly melting away." But the host country must weigh the implications for the development and internal availability of a native high-quality managerial force. A recent Harvard study of accomplishments in the discipline of physics in 19th-century England produced some thought-provoking results. It showed that more than half of all the significant work came from 5 per cent of the physicists and a further 25 per cent came from their students. It is often claimed that 5 per cent of any discipline carries the other 95 per cent. Even if exaggerated, the assertion raises the question of what happens to a country if a drain to a foreign land deprives it of its most promising citizens.

Writers who see the multinational corporation as a future dominant force in the world view the movement upward of host country management as a hopeful sign: the corporation is truly becoming international. The same instances of non-U.S. top management in U.S. multinational corporations are cited again and again. Kindleberger notes that "a Canadian is president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and a Venezuelan sits on the Board of Directors. A Frenchman has just become president of the I.B.M. World Trade Corporation." For Kindleberger the desired outcome is the development of "... a cadre of international executives, parallel, it may be noted, to the international civil servants of the United States, the European Economic Community, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of a few years back, who are mobile." Whether or not this cadre develops, and there is increasing evidence that its development is not proceeding as quickly as hoped, it is clear that the large powers will control the show.

Research and Development. R & D activity is usually associated with process or product innovation—activities that lead to new products or to more efficient ways to make established products. The fact that corporations can build to market specification and can use market research techniques to guide the activities of the R & D lab is an entirely new concept. The planned use of technology is one of the chief contributions of modern business methods, and its lack can in a shorthand way be thought of as the "technological gap."

The multinational corporation can transfer technology to the host country and thereby confer a genuine benefit. Of course, there are possible short-run drawbacks because the prices charged to the host country subsidiary for providing that technology may be excessive. However, a more



important long-run drawback worth fuller discussion is the tendency of the host country to rely increasingly on imported technology.

In the dynamics of economic development an important aspect is that rising educational levels lead to rising expectations on the part of the populace. The idea of self-fulfillment and especially employment-related fulfillment becomes more and more common. At the same time, the educational institutions of the host country begin to turn out a wide variety of graduates: lawyers, medical personnel, scientists of all types, technicians, economists, sociologists, et al. The scientists and engineers look for employment opportunities to industry, both foreign and domestic, but particularly in technologically sophisticated subsidiaries of multinational corporations. Problems arise because the multinational corporation tends to centralize its research—especially the more sophisticated research—and this centralization usually takes place in the parent company. Thus R & D is another case where the most effective operation of a large multinational corporation often creates a conflict between the hopes and aspirations of the citizens of a nation state and the reality of international business rationality.

Some operations lend themselves to tighter control than others. In a recent speech to the American Chamber of Commerce in the Netherlands, Jacques Maisonrouge, the often cited international executive who is president of IBM World Trade, concluded:

It is simply not possible for the multinational company to be completely centralized or completely decentralized. There must be different levels of centralization—and these will vary with different functions. In general, I believe that long-range planning, finance, research and development could be centralized from a management viewpoint—but on the basis of world-wide input of data. On the other hand, sales, service, personnel, public relations—all the functions that are most concerned with the outside world—should be decentralized. . . . (Emphasis added.)

The R & D in the host country, except in special cases, is usually associated with bringing in and setting up the technology. The subsidiary's reliance on technology transfer means that it will not develop its own technological prowess. The reliance on the parent also means that the subsidiary will never move without first consulting headquarters. As the multinational corporation tends to allocate world markets and product lines among its various subsidiaries, so it tends to allocate technological development in the same fashion. An obvious corollary is that the host country's economy generates little demand for highly trained manpower in high-technology industries. To put it simply, who needs sophisticated computer researchers in country X when most of the world's computer research is done in upstate New York?

Control of the Economy. One of the most serious dangers for a host country where multinational corporations operate on a wide scale is the loss of control of the economy to outside forces. As expressed by Servan-Schreiber, among others, the fear is that key decisions affecting a country like France are made not in Paris but in New York or London, or even Detroit or Dallas.

A further danger is that foreigners will gain control

without really giving much in return, but rather will employ the host country's resources for their own growth. A multinational corporation which simply plows back all its profits earned within the host country, without adding any additional outside capital to its original investment, can annually expand its investment by the same percentage as its profit rate. With profit rates of 15 to 25 per cent per year, the magic of compound interest is that multinational corporations, growing at those rates, will soon dominate the economies of most countries, where growth is at perhaps 5 per cent a year.

The real danger of possible loss of economic control to the multinational corporation does not stem from any "conspiracy" of these companies to take over the host country's economy. Rather, the more subtle but no less serious danger in allowing wide-scale foreign investment is that the foreign investor comes to feel that he has a stake in the country and a right to a voice in its operations, insofar as that is necessary to protect or expand his investment. Particularly today, when the multinational corporation is so tremendously growth-oriented, the pressures on all divisions, both domestic and foreign, to expand sales and profits are especially great. Thus from an initial attitude of simply seeking an investment climate which "safeguards" his investment, the foreigner's attitude ultimately changes to a belief that he has a "right to participate" in the growth of the indigenous economy. It is obvious that such a point of view must lead the foreign investor to an increasing concern with many phases of the host country's political, social and economic life. Given the powerful governments and institutions which the foreign investor can call on for assistance, the dangers to the independence of the host country should be obvious.

Spending, taxing and regulatory powers, use of technical manpower, development of a managerial force, even control of the economy itself, can be severely circumscribed by the widespread presence of multinational corporations in a less developed country. Some writers claim that by the year 2000 there will be 200 or so large corporations producing the bulk of output in the entire world. What could possibly be wrong with that, they ask. They argue that such concentration seems to be working well within the United States. One can only wonder if most thoughtful people would like to see the oligopoly situation which exists in the United States expanded to a world context, with production of goods characterized by heavy marketing and advertising expenditures and with product proliferation and forced obsolescence the rule and not the exception. It should be noted that even in the United States the much heralded force of modern corporations is not solving the most pressing social and economic problems. As Prof. Harvey Brooks of Harvard University noted recently in a report of the National Academy of Sciences on "Technology: Processes of Assessment and Choice": "Whereas a few years ago, for example, the idea of a supersonic transport seemed to many the obvious fulfillment of man's airborne destiny, today some who might once have greeted the SST with unbounded enthusiasm are asking whether it is truly a sign of progress to fly from Watts to Harlem in two hours, vibrating millions of ears and windows in between." □

BOOKS & THE ARTS

A Cataract of Motion

BALDUR'S GATE. By Eleanor Clark. Pantheon Books. 367 pp. \$7.95.

CALVIN BEDIENT

Mr. Bedient teaches in the English Department at UCLA.

Baldur Blake is an aged sculptor of genius with a great gnomish forehead. As gnome and genius both, he is the spirit of earth, the guardian of hidden treasure, and an inspired aid to memory. The treasure, for Eleanor Clark, is life itself, our being on earth, and memory is the cavern that leads us to it. "The only real vice of any society," Miss Clark wrote in *The Oysters of Locmariaquer* (National Book Award, 1964), "is lack of memory and the only real function of a poet is to supply it." For her, however, what is crucial about memory is that it gives depth to the present. The past is the upper water of the stream that, descending, makes of the present an impelled and brimming force. So Rome needs its fountains, Miss Clark notes in *Rome and a Villa* (1952), because in Rome you feel outside of Europe and on the map of distances in time, "something which only running water can convey or make bearable." The fountains are "memory, or the living singleness of time."

Outside the South and New England, America has never been a country for memory, and Miss Clark, whose own genius is for "the living singleness of time," has, until now, gone elsewhere to find its green—to Italy and France. Her first novel, *The Bitter Box* (1946), was set in anonymous metropolitan America; a brittle, clever book in the patronizing, sophisticated manner of a *New Yorker* short story, it mostly laughed at the thirties' fever of communism, while yet honoring the need for communal involvement. That the box held no memory doubtless helped to make it bitter. *Baldur's Gate*, by contrast, is set in Miss Clark's own New England—in New England's depths—and is, like the two intervening works, poetically profound.

Baldur's "gate" is a design for a model community in Jordan, Conn. A communal symbol, it has the wheels and "round about" eyes of the "living creature" in *Ezekiel*. American life, indeed the whole modern world, is in a cataract of motion, "every instant . . . goodbye to

what we thought to understand"—we need eyes to see not only where we are going but where we have been. Baldur's gate is also a collective means of "both protection and welcome." A kind of space barrier, it rises upward (the great arch of St. Louis comes to mind) to greet and play with distances, yet it is serious, too, intimating "some large serenity always in the act of rising out of torment."

Miss Clark's novel is a Baldur's gate among novels, except that—unfashionably—it chooses not to play. It looks at the New England of one, two, even three generations back, to see where New England has been. In the Jordan family of the Prydens—brilliant, cold, conventional, commercially and personally dishonest—it finds only worldly success: no buried treasure here, merely a heartless dazzle. In the Buckingham, however—the grandmother whose heart was an unworldly huddle of love, the Buckingham men "long on principle but short on the grab"—it finds the only kind of success that counts, the generous habitation of life, the delight in life for itself.

In the last of the Buckinghams, the book's 32-year-old narrator Eva, there is a betrayal, of many years' standing, of the Buckingham past. Eva has been mesmerized by the Pryden glitter. Moreover, the ruin of the Buckingham family, begun when Eva was 14, has made a wound of the worldliness in her temper, deepening her selfishness and ambition. She is a wife and mother, but she is real to herself as neither. In her heart, she is still the little girl who, with such a flutter, received Miss Pryden's charismatic condescension and the glamour of her smiles. Or she is what she was at 18, a girl clutching for love from Miss Pryden's "ward" Jack (in reality, Miss Pryden's illegitimate son), seeking entry that way into the great safe diamond of the Pryden world.

Yet Eva is not allowed to stand still. Affectingly, she finally discovers the hidden treasures of the present—perceiving as well, with eyes all round, their "living singleness" with the best of the Buckingham past. From her torment she rises in serenity.

Faced by the present, however, *Baldur's Gate* registers an agony of apprehension. For here the symbol of the American present, indeed of America it-

self, is the bulldozer, or movement without memory. Where the brook behind the Buckingham house and the local river run in clean depth, the bulldozer moves in a surface of noise and dust; where the water reveals, the bulldozer buries; where the one speaks to us of the singleness of time, the other jerks and shoves us into the future. The Rapahaug River is being dammed, and by the book's end a bulldozer is carving the hill in back of the Buckingham house—the finest colonial structure in the area. Hence the exigent need for Baldur's gate, for a collaboration between art and America's motion and meaning.

There is, Miss Clark would say, hope in art, hope and great danger. There is hope because art is the brightest instructor of generosity, and for Miss Clark generosity is the heart's staple of life—its forms being art itself, human love, community spirit, regard for the past, delight in the present, and, not least, hope. There is in all these states, in the words of John Jay Chapman (whose splendid essay "Society" could be a partial gloss on *Baldur's Gate*), "a certain focussing and concentration of the attention that brings all the life within us into harmony." As for the danger of art, "Create an appetite for beauty, order, form," says Baldur, "and then don't satisfy it, what have you got? Sheer, total destructiveness"—a nation of killers, frustrated and angry teenagers, dismayed and deadened adults.

But can art secure, inspirit, America? The model for Baldur's gate ends up in the Jordan town dump. Miss Clark, however, still suggests hope. Though Baldur himself dies, rejected, he leaves generous stirrings in the people of Jordan. Art is a yeast, a power.

What is more, like Santayana in *Character and Opinion in the United States*, Miss Clark perceives that there is ingrained in the American character a raw form of creative idealism and ferment. She intimates this by establishing (not very convincingly) a "liking and curious similarity," then a collaboration, between Baldur and a commercial developer, Chuck Jarvis. True to American character as Santayana describes it, Jarvis is socially, though not intellectually, a radical; he dismisses the past as "irrelevant, inferior, and outworn." But so does Baldur dismiss it, in his last, *avant-garde* phase. What links the two, what links

art and American character, is imagination. The artist and the developer, alike, are idealists working on matter. Were the American "not imaginative," Santayana says, "he would not live so much in the future." Jarvis' dream is the American dream "of helping to carry on and to accelerate the movement of a vast, seething, progressive society." As for Baldur's dream, his gate, it is of an "arrested motion," a progress in which there is a simultaneous pause of depth and delight.

There is indeed then an affinity and a "curious similarity" between art and the bulldozing American character. And perhaps there is enough in this to foster hope. In any case, should the bulldozer prove controllable or not, we have no choice—so Miss Clark intimates—but to hope. It is a matter of "keeping faith" with the best that can be. It is a point of generosity.

So rich, sane, deep and central a novel one would like to greet as magnificent. But, except for its last 50 pages, *Baldur's Gate* is not even nearly the work of art that it should have been.

"That is all any of us is doing," writes Miss Clark in *The Oysters of Loema-riaquer*, "—trying to put out our tiles right, to catch a few oysters." In *Baldur's Gate*, the tiles are of tried and traditional design: unlike Baldur's last works, Miss Clark's novel is faithful to the aesthetic past in form as well as in spirit. Mostly straightforward, Eva's narration is scarcely more advanced, technically, than Lucy Snowe's in *Villette*. This itself is not a fault; as Miss Clark's own final pages show, great effects may still be caught by this means. The fault lies, rather, in the stationing of the tiles.

Any novelist who places the point of view with a character less intelligent and observant than himself takes a tremendous risk. For success, his narrator must be ironically limited or truly a "character," or else self-effacing. Eva Buckingham, however, is her narrative, and Eva Buckingham is ordinary. She will, by the end, become rather extraordinary—a poet in consciousness, and a woman of bold intelligent will. But meanwhile we must suffer her limitations, suffer them artistically.

Miss Clark, an immensely talented writer, can make any place seem more real than your own, and deep beyond grasping. The pages on old Françoise and her family in *Oysters* are classics of poetic, humane and dramatic rendering. Eva, by contrast, makes both people and places seem nebulous, somehow muffled. There is a cottony quality to her prose. Nothing in it is sharp; nothing in it scintillates. Her tone, monotonously

musings and narcissistic, is bland and deadened. Perhaps it is meant to reflect her longing for "all the simple beautiful-ness that was probably never in the world but anyway seemed to have gone out of it now." However that may be, it fails to connect directly with life.

So long as Eva sleeps in her dream of the past, Miss Clark writes at half-talent. But then her writing becomes magnificent indeed; the breakers of

imagination and awakening roll in wonderfully against the rocks of Eva's life—there is a "focussing and concentration of the attention" in grandeur and greatness. By bringing the material of the book into this harmony, Miss Clark exalts and nourishes us. But, at the same time, she makes us ache for the narrative her novel might have been, had more of it been the slap of the breakers on the rocks. □

Selective Non-Service

IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY: War Resisters in Prison. By Willard Gaylin, M.D. The Viking Press. 344 pp. \$6.95.

STANLEY MILGRAM

Mr. Milgram is a professor of psychology at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He is writing a book on obedience to authority.

Americans who are unwilling to kill for their country are thrown into jail. And our generation learns, as every generation has, that society rewards and punishes its members not in the degree to which each fulfills the dictates of individual conscience but in the degree to which the actions are perceived by authority to serve the needs of the larger social system. It has always been so. Jesus was a good man by any standard of individual morality but a threat to the structure of Roman authority. Every epoch produces its share of highly moral individuals whose very purity pushes them into conflict with the state. The task of democracy is to strive to reconcile the disparity between individual conscience and societal needs.

Resisting induction into the military is a crime only in the purely technical sense that federal statutes provide penalties for it. But the resisters are the very opposite of criminals. First, they act out of moral ideals, not in opposition to them. Second, while the criminal's actions are geared to personal profit, the resister willingly suffers personal loss to uphold a moral ideal. Third, while the criminal seeks to evade the law, the resister offers himself to it. Nor is the resister a revolutionary: for he accepts the legitimacy of authority without being willing to serve it in specifically immoral ways. Finally, he is not truly alienated: one who has no deep involvement with his country can depart from it without the pains of incarceration.

Willard Gaylin, a psychiatrist, sets out to examine the motives and thoughts of

a group of men in prison for war resistance. He moves to a consideration of the flaws of the prison system, and ineluctably is forced to extend his concern to the idea of incarceration itself as a civilized human practice. "The more I thought of it, the more monstrous it seemed that anyone should have the power to deprive another human being of five years of life—merely as punishment." He is right, of course, and putting men in cages will surely come to be seen as one of the barbarisms of our age. It becomes doubly shameful when the men in jail have acted on principles of conscience.

The actual chances of landing in jail vary enormously from one person to the next, depending largely on whether the resister has the wit, cash and proper legal counsel to circumvent the law. With proper religious credentials he is more likely to be granted C.O. status. Inequity in the application of the draft laws is one of the recurrent themes in this subtle and moving account of Gaylin's research.

All of the men studied are war resisters in a special sense. When a man decides that he will not enter the armed forces, several options are open to him. He can go underground (a strategy best suited to ghetto blacks, for whom there are poor administrative records). He can flee the country, or he can attempt to circumvent induction by whispering concocted sexual secrets to the psychiatrist at the induction center. Some dedicated resisters enter the army with the aim of subverting it from within, and they, no doubt, constitute the most dangerous element from the standpoint of the military.

Gaylin's interviewees chose a different course. They refused induction and offered themselves for imprisonment. Even after imprisonment the options were not fully closed, for each man had to decide whether to continue his resistance by refusing to cooperate with prison authorities in any degree, or to serve as a

model prisoner. Typically, war resisters chose the latter course, a position that is consistent with their moral stance.

Life in prison is rotten, and it becomes increasingly clear that it is not merely the time taken from normal living that counts as punishment but immersion in a kind of social hell, consisting of tedium, senseless authoritarian routine, and the need to protect oneself from depredations of fellow inmates. Gaylin became a well-liked visitor to the resisters who looked forward to a break from the routine of prison life and a sympathetic ear. The research method thus exemplifies the constructive possibilities of scientific inquiry. The very process of inquiry brought a ray of light to the men. Gaylin's own sensitivity and professional tact insured that the men did not perceive themselves as guinea pigs. This was further assured by Gaylin's temperate use of psychiatric doctrines. In seeking to find unconscious motives, the author does not discredit conscious ones. He views psychoanalytic concepts as complementary to everyday levels of explanation, and in no way supplanting them. He refuses to start with the assumption that going to jail itself constitutes a neurotic symptom.

Gaylin used as his main tool of investigation the psychoanalytic interview, adhering to Freud's doctrine that "it is only when you stop asking questions that the truth emerges." Only occasionally does he turn the subject matter in a direction of interest to him. Mostly he wants to examine the ideas and feelings that the resisters summon up.

The procedure shows the strengths and limitations of the psychiatric interview. Each life is presented vividly and makes sense in its own terms; it is difficult to find generalizations applicable to all the cases. Gaylin is sparse on interpretation, preferring that the client paint his own portrait. The most promising scientific fact deals with birth order: almost all of the war resisters are first sons, suggesting that some special relationship to authority, implicit in the role of the son-who-will-replace-the-father, is at the motivational root of the resister's act.

Gaylin's sympathies lie with the resisters, not so much, I suspect, because they resisted war in general but because they resisted involvement in a particularly odious war. The reader's sympathies will be correspondingly colored by the general antipathy to the Vietnamese adventure. It is not at all clear that the moral advantage the resisters acquire at this particular moment in American history would automatically apply to resistance to all wars at all times.

Although in some respects going to prison has the quality of an act of martyrdom, it differs in that life does not end with the act; it is only interrupted. We have yet to understand how the resister comes retrospectively to fit the experience into the broader pattern of his life. In this connection, it would be helpful to speak to those who had resisted in other wars, and who have now gained a perspective on their actions. Resistance in World War II could serve as a particularly interesting point of comparison, since refusal to serve in the armed forces was not at the time viewed sympathetically by any sizable fraction of the population.

We admire the resisters for their moral stance, but this is not to be confused with an effective political act. The resisters did not win converts in prison; their individual decisions have no effect on the efficiency of the war machine: the man who refuses to go into the army is simply replaced by the next in line. So, we confront a morally inspired, but politically ineffective act of the lone individual against the system. The burden of effective resistance is thus shifted to those willing to sacrifice individual purity for the attainment of practical political goals: evasion of prison, organized collective action, and a willingness to be personally tainted are the price of maximally effective resistance, and are exemplified in the actions of such

men of stature as Willy Brandt, who fled Germany to fight Nazism in the Norwegian underground. Some Germans have never forgiven Brandt, but the nation did elect him Premier. It remains to be seen whether Americans will allow similar political opportunities to those who have taken up the battle in Canada.

Since there will always be individuals who refuse induction on moral grounds, the nation must work to eradicate deficiencies in the law. Until the recent Supreme Court decision, belief in a Supreme Being was a *sine qua non* of C.O. status. Philosophic convictions that function as a religion may now be sufficient grounds for granting exemption from military service. But the person must be opposed to all wars. This does not yet reflect the process whereby moral judgments are formed. A person may, on moral grounds, be willing to fight in one war, yet find participation in another war morally repugnant. The law must come to recognize this reality, and permit selective conscientious objection. The technical difficulty is to devise procedures for separating out those objections that are rooted in morality, and those that are simply self-serving. Finally, the country needs to provide war resisters not the brutal and meaningless experience of prison but constructive forms of alternative national service. The impact of Gaylin's book will help move us in this direction. □

Society as a Work of Art

FIVE LECTURES. By Herbert Marcuse. Translated by Jeremy J. Shapiro and Shierry M. Weber. Beacon Press. 192 pp. \$7.50. Paper \$1.95.

HERBERT MARCUSE: An Exposition and a Polemic. By Alasdair MacIntyre. The Viking Press. 114 pp. \$4.95. Paper \$1.65.

KINGSLEY WIDMER

Mr. Widmer teaches comparative literature at San Diego State College. His writings include four volumes of literary studies. He is now working on a book about recent cultural criticism.

Herbert Marcuse responds to the present American scene with a quite "un-American" dialectic of total politicalization. An allegorist in the grand manner, Marcuse sees all of our cultural and social forces as playing out the drama of "Domination" versus "Liberation."

Totally committed to the "idea of a non-repressive civilization" (*Eros and Civilization*), Marcuse demands that we

discover the "Great Refusal" of all forms of domination and dehumanization. Since "all liberation depends on the consciousness of servitude" (*One-Dimensional Man*), he devastatingly presents the paradoxes of our "repressive satisfactions": our bland technology doing the work of horrific terrorism; our counterfeit "freedoms" of self-censoring media, manipulative liberalizations and pseudo-gratifications; our over-development which obscures our under-humanization; and our often "insane rationality" which provides new accommodations to old exploitations and updated mystifications for outdated repressions. He perceives that even at its supposed best this is a considerably false society.

Consequently, Marcuse argues that full-dimensioned criticism must be "more negative and more utopian" (*Negations*) in order to counter our vicious processing and controlling. Critical intelligence, in contrast to our dominant bureaucratic scientism, must not allow the self-serving neutralization

MR. SAMMLER, CAN IT

Say, have you read Bellow's latest book
serialized in *The Atlantic*?
It's all about this frantic
fellow Arthur Sammler, how he's forced to look
at this princely Negro's princely apparatus
all because he caught him at his
trade, picking pockets on the uptown bus.
The moral, if I read it right,
is that compared to us
these black cats have gargantuan genitalia,
can make salvation one with flight
merely by exhibiting their regalia
to our sight, a clear case
of the powers of darkness shadowing light
in lobbies. In short,
the armies of the night
are gathered for a fresh attack,
but now we Sammlers are the victims
not of Brownshirts, but the potent young and black.
A graduate student, for example, tricked him
into speaking at Columbia,
never warning of the calumny
he'd suffer when, in the middle of his lecture
on Orwell, Wells, that Thirties intellectual crowd,
some young impudent vulgarian,
some semi-civilized barbarian
jumped up and cried aloud,
"Old man, you're dry, a sexless antiquarian
bore." One could almost
feel nostalgia for the war.
The black exhibiting his thing,
the bearded student doing his,
are two eyes in one blind revolution,
the desperate cry announcing "This Man Is!"
in every vestibule and public institution.
This is no planet for old men.
The young in one another's arms hug
each other's mindless bodies, shrug
at what this tailored coat upon a dated shtick
has seen and done.

All that of course is just Part One.
Part Two is quite another
thing. There all God's children are my sons
and I'm a virtual soul brother,
clapping hands and louder singing,
on feathered phrases upward winging,
finding everywhere significance,
monuments to my own magnificent style.

Oh pages standing in this monthly magazine
in a mould prosaic, hear my call.
Transcend your routine, you know what I mean,
and be the flinging casters of my pearls.
Exhume my mind that way; touched with the spleen
and fastened to a flying squall
it knows not where it is; and help me stalk
into the artifice of eternal talk.

William Freedman

of thought and feeling which has become the submissive standard of our institutionalized culture. For this society, "accusation becomes the true function of science." This, of course, is "science" in the old philosophical, not the current submissively puzzle-solving, sense.

Much else in Marcuse's thought comes from the 19th century, in which he was born, and the leftist European culture of pre-World War I. But Marcuse is also angrily in love with the presentness of tomorrow and empathetic with current revolt. He not only sees our rebellious culture as portending the new "society as a work of art" but also rightly insists that such "new sensibility has become a political force" (*Essay on Liberation*). Despite his tendency toward egregious abstraction and political ambiguities, the radical sweep of Marcuse's writings provides a powerfully liberating effect on oppositional thought.

How strange, then, to see none of these qualities and concerns in much of the writing on Marcuse. Radical allegories provide only alienated labor to those institutionalized in the decorous games which dominate Anglo-American political and cultural criticism. The most recent example at hand, Alasdair MacIntyre's study, seems such stock stuff. It starts out by contending that "almost all of Marcuse's key positions are false," and concludes that all Marcuse has done to "freedom and reason" consists of "betraying their substance at every important point."

The ostensible main drift of MacIntyre's polemic is the rather pedantic point that Marcuse shows himself to be more left-Hegelian than Marxist. Probably, but this doesn't suggest much about Marcuse's influence. His pertinence, I think, comes from his combining a traditional total view, a large political allegory, with harsh and immediate perceptions of American reality. MacIntyre is hampered by a lack of insight into the radical responses to contemporary American society. He feels, for example, that we suffer most from a "lack of control" instead of from what radicals perceive as powerfully warping and amorously repressive controls. Those like MacIntyre who are unsympathetic to opposition to social domination, libidinal repression and alienating work and art, can in no way engage Marcuse's moral imperatives.

In one of his smug put-downs of Marcuse's efforts to radically reinterpret Freud's social-cultural theory—also the purpose of three of the *Five Lectures*—MacIntyre writes: "Marcuse wishes to envisage a possible social order in which human relationships are widely informed by that libidinal release and gratification

which, according to Freud, would spell the destruction of any social order." With rather comic nervousness, he also asks: "What will we actually *do* in this sexually liberated state?" I suppose one might answer that we will do those things which come from being more passionately alive and responsive—the real test of a social-political theory—even when twisting Freud and denouncing liberated philosophers.

Marcuse does intriguingly start his *Five Lectures* from the tragic psychic and social conflict which provides the theme of Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Freud held that civilization requires renunciation and regulation which must be essentially painful and defeating. He projected a precarious tension between the repressive order and productivity man needs as a social being and the libidinal gratification and ease he desires as a biological and psychological individual.

Marcuse accepts this as a *historical* truth but insists that the reality has changed. Civilization, especially as represented by technologized and affluent America, now poses possibilities beyond the repressiveness justified by the scarcity and elitist ordering that Freud saw as necessary reality. Partly the new possibilities come as the dividends of earlier renunciations and regulations, partly as a rejection of the "surplus repression" that came from a particular ideological domination of society. Now, argues Marcuse, "a free society for all has become a real possibility." The old repressive order has produced, at a terrible price, the quantitative means for a qualitative change in social life. A new fusion of the classical opposites of "sensuousness and reason, happiness and freedom" awaits if the forms of domination, now displaced from the old patriarchal and work controls into "technical-administrative" authoritarianism, are transformed.

Marcuse acknowledges the fatal alternative by ending his first lecture, "Freedom and Freud's Theory of Instincts," on the apocalyptic note that our increasing rationalization of destructive processes may accelerate the death instinct and produce a "catastrophe that will pull the archaic forces down with it," as preliminary to a freer and happier "higher stage" of civilization. However, the following lecture, "The Idea of Progress in the Light of Psychoanalysis," includes an unacknowledged reversal. Catastrophe may also destroy the humane possibilities since "technical progress . . . is the precondition of freedom," material advancement of moral advancement. Marcuse is no primitivist

and specifically rejects the pan-sexual regressions of some of our famous left-Freudians for the "mediated enjoyment" appropriate to a full civilization.

In "The Obsolescence of the Freudian Concept of Man"—the title is half-ironic—Marcuse argues that our permissive change in the past generation, "a society without fathers," allows us to repress the reality of our repressions. Or, as I would put it, our gaudy dress of moral and social freedoms obscures the rigid body of the same old falsities and deadness. Now, says Marcuse, an exploitatively organized "technical code" substitutes for the traditional "moral code." Our injustices disguise themselves as neutral techniques, with the ultimate political one as "democratic authoritarianism." We have subverted the old ways of forming character, with which Freud dealt, but without real increase in social rationality and freedom. Marcuse, with his vision of an imaginative rationality and a liberated happiness, is not taken in by our counterfeits, and often brilliantly perceives how the old dominations and repressions take new guises.

In suggesting the old psychic drama beneath the political scene, Marcuse does allow for some significant changes. (I think, however, that he underestimates the long-term effects in the breakdown of character rigidity, and ultimately social rigidity.) In his early writings he held, with the classical Socialists, that labor was essentially alienating. Consequently, he followed the traditional leftist emphasis that labor could only be rationally minimized (shorter hours) and freed from class exploitation (surplus value). Our narrow, autocratic and reactionary labor unions relate to such ideology. Now, however, Marcuse believes that alienated labor can be eliminated.

Thus he argues in the fourth lecture, "The End of Utopia," that Marx did not go far enough, did not allow the realm of freedom to interpenetrate and ultimately conquer the realm of necessity. We can now propose utopian transformations based in "the convergence of technology and art and the convergence of work and play." The historical imperative of the new modes of production not only undermines the previous ways of alienation and domination but allows new human needs, especially those arising from the "aesthetic-erotic dimension" of life, which could culminate in a beautiful society.

Historically, Marcuse reverses "scientific" socialism into its "utopian" base and implicitly rejects the old leftist puritanism and Marxist-Leninist repressiveness. The utopian vision does not deny that life will still have tensions, both

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from the dialectic of material history and from the primal psychic drama posited by Freud. But progress is an immediate possibility in the "pacification of existence" from the most repressive forms of the archaic crimes and the exploitations and injustices of a false psychic and social ordering.

Marcuse's abstract poetry, his left-Hegelian and left-Freudian allegorical extension of our realities, wonderfully suggests utopian possibilities. Only an allegory of post-domination and beyond-repression needs can provide a liberating social view. But the abstraction takes its toll. I want to note several weaknesses. These become especially evident in the appended answers to questions from Berlin students and in the last and weakest of the five lectures, "The Problem of Violence by the Opposition." There Marcuse's vague justifications of violence lack all discrimination as to kinds and ways and places of violent resistance. The essentials are lost when violence is not seen in perplexed and tragic relation to tangible human life.

Some similar abstracting limits Marcuse's sense of our material possibilities. He displays an extreme enchantment with American techniques and automation and gadgets. We can readily grant his argument that our technology and superabundance demand condemnation of our quite unnecessary deprivations and inequalities and ugliness. Most scarcity justifications for exploitation and control are gone and our authorities stand revealed as illegitimate. But, it seems to me, to make maximized technology and superabundance the conditions of freedom and happiness subordinates all humane values and futures to technical organization. Marcuse would eliminate scarcity and alienated labor by submission to the repressive consciousness of the new technocracy, instead of finding a different and properly limited productive mode without the present dedication to destructive abundance and abundant destruction. Marcuse's own argument suggests that no liberated society can be as technologized, rich and powerful as America.

And who is to bring about the great change? Unlike much of current New Leftism, Marcuse does not regress into a pseudo-Marxist sentimentalization: the American working class is patently not the current and foreseeable agent of change toward the needed liberation since it is not only "integrated into the system" but deeply conservative in sensibility. Could the agent of change be the educated-technical "new working class"? No, says

Marcuse with some reluctance, for the engineers, et al., are too well rewarded by the present system and any imperative of theirs to social change moves only toward more "technocratic state capitalism." Will the ethnic minorities provide the transforming group? Not primarily, since their economic and cultural roles are marginal and their consciousness mostly confined to particularistic grievances. The "Third World"? Clearly it is not itself capable of altering the internal dynamics of Western civilization, which it also tends to damagingly plagiarize. What about the underculture, the *déclassé* carriers of our pervasive "moral-sexual rebellion"? Marcuse is sympathetic but sees them, so far, as more symptomatic than creative.

What is left? Marcuse can only point to the "intellectuals and students" now modifying the sensibility and resisting our false order. Contrary to Marx, he insists that "humanitarian and moral arguments . . . can and must become social forces," and so he awaits the change of consciousness and the enlargement of rebellion in the "interstices within established society."

Prescribed Ethics

CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC TRUST: Report of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Special Committee on Congressional Ethics. James C. Kirby, Jr., Executive Director. Atheneum Publishers. 351 pp. \$8.95.

SANFORD WATZMAN

Mr. Watzman is a reporter in the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. He is writing a book on conflict of interest.

Ten years after its definitive study of ethics in the Executive branch, (*Conflict of Interest and Federal Service*, Harvard University Press, 1960), the New York Bar, again with a grant from the Ford Foundation, has produced a second volume on the legislative branch. The Ford money is likely to be there still, and it is to be hoped that the bar will move ahead with a survey of the judiciary branch before waiting another ten years. Historically, the public had tended to give the judiciary the highest marks for integrity, but recent developments have disclosed that federal Judges and Justices are, after all, as human as Congressmen and administrators—as capable of endangering, through acts of selfishness, the institution they serve.

Aside from the decade-long interval,

But, as one of Marcuse's accusing student questioners says, "You have shifted the accent towards enlightenment and away from revolution." True. Perhaps Marcuse should risk furthering the scope of his vision, a call for a new sensibility and society, instead of returning to traditional wisdom and apocalyptic fears. Certainly there is enlightenment in considering the present society with his dialectical negations, at least for those capable of responding to the allegorical abstractions. But his abstraction also goes beyond style to a potential deification of a historical technocracy without adequate human agent.

Thus we reach the irony that total politicalization, a grand allegory of Domination and Liberation, ends without adequate politics. Still, that may be the bitter necessity of contemporary radicalism, and therefore far from a complete criticism.

That is because any real understanding of Marcuse—and this helps explain the nasty rage of many of his critics—must further liberate consciousness and induce resistance to our false culture and destructive society. □

the record suggests that the bar and its benefactor will need no prodding. The 1960 book came in the wake of scandals reaching into the White House during the Truman and Eisenhower years; the 1970 book follows close on the heels of the exploits of Bobby Baker, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Sen. Thomas J. Dodd. The next volume, if and when it comes, would put in perspective the disgrace of Justice Abe Fortas, the humiliation of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., and the vacillation by the U.S. Judicial Conference (plus the indecision by Congress) over methods to accomplish self-policing by the judiciary. "Ideally, perhaps, all three coordinate branches should be studied at once," the 1960 book said, adding: "But the conflict of interest problems of the judiciary and members of Congress are very different in character from each other and from those of the executive branch." Of course this is true. But a rationale for a comprehensive approach to the problem was developed in 1951 by the commission on ethics headed by former Sen. Paul Douglas. Calls for it are being heard again, one of the most persistent (if unheeded) voices being that of Sen. Clifford Case.

The bar's 1960 project resulted in a

codification of the conflict of interest laws and in the establishment of some new principles. Mayor John V. Lindsay, then a member of the House, was one of those who took the lead in promoting legislation to implement the bar's recommendations. On the final roll call in the Senate, Kenneth Keating praised the bill and voted for it, but he stressed the need for having members of Congress held to the same standard of ethics that the legislation imposed on officials of the Executive branch. The reason for the dereliction was obvious. President Kennedy wanted a law more than a cause, and in his message to Congress he had suggested diplomatically that, while he needed new authority to set his own house in order, Congress itself was a better judge of whether it needed outside supervision.

In 1965, President Johnson went beyond the law in Executive Order 11122, imposing strict new rules on his subordinates. One such rule requires thousands of high-ranking bureaucrats to file confidential financial disclosure statements with their superiors. Since the Kennedy law and the Johnson order, there has been no major scandal in the Executive branch; that much is fact. Whether there has been a cause-and-effect relationship remains a question, however, since so little time has elapsed. But an ancillary fact is that, despite the record, public confidence in the probity of the bureaucracy does not appear to have grown perceptibly, no doubt because the steps taken in the early 1960s really did not go far enough.

In appraising this volume on Congress, then, two points should be considered. First, political realities are such that, lacking the impetus of another Bobby Baker or Dodd affair, the House and Senate are not likely to take the ethics medicine prescribed by the bar. Since the lawmakers would have rejected any castor oil offered them by President Kennedy or by that master general practitioner, President Johnson, it is difficult to imagine the Congressmen as patients of the bar. Second, if the Senators and Representatives could be forced to take the bar's medicine they would come a long way toward establishing the reputation for honesty which they have lacked for so long (since the First Congress, as this study shows). But the question still remains whether the dosage would be strong enough to convince the public. As *The Nation* pointed out on March 30, while commenting editorially on some other developments: "It is extremely doubtful that, if enacted, a bill forcing disclosure

would do much to discourage political corruption." Strengthened financial disclosure rules are a prime ingredient of the potion offered by the bar. It would be a gross exaggeration to term it a placebo. It is not quack medicine. But an argument might fairly be made that it is designed to relieve rather than cure.

From confidential interviews with 120 members of both Houses, the bar concluded that Congressmen as a whole are considerably more trustworthy than the public believes. Yet only ten members of the sample were found to lack significant outside income, and it became manifest that "the typical member of Congress has financial interests with some potential for clouding his independence of judgment on legislation." The best remedy was held to be an "avoidance" of the conflicting interest, either by not acquiring it or by disposing of it. One recommendation was that a Congressman so afflicted should not—"if reasonably possible"—serve on a committee having jurisdiction over the economic activity in which he holds the interest.

Disclosure was suggested as the second-best remedy, presumably where it is not "reasonably possible" to avoid the conflict. In this connection, Congress has found the courage to properly steer Presidential appointees. For Charles Wilson and others named as Secretary of Defense, it was not enough that they told Congress and the public about their holdings. Congress forced them to sell as the price of confirmation.

A salutary and revolutionary proposal by the bar is that Senators and Representatives abstain from the side practice of law (three out of five Congressmen are also attorneys, though most of them have given up active practices). Solicitude is shown for junior members, who ought to be exempted from the prohibition, the proposal holds, until they have some promise of incumbency. Yet the bar adduced evidence that most lawyers enhance their practices, rather than shrink them, by a tour of duty as a public official. Since no one is forced to run for Congress, and since there is seldom a dearth of candidates, it would seem not to be too much to ask of Junior that, in the public interest, he ought to take his chances if he wants to play a man's game.

A chapter on campaign financing contains a number of interesting recommendations. One endorses a proposal already pending (but getting nowhere) in Congress that would set up an Elections Commission—an independent governmental body—to enforce new reporting rules. The present Corrupt Practices

Act, toothless since its enactment in 1925, has the Congressmen reporting to the clerks of each chamber who, to no one's surprise, have yet to turn up a report of inadequacy. The commission mechanism would give the public far greater assurance of being told where the candidates got the money for their campaigns.

The recent increase that boosted the salary of lawmakers from \$30,000 to \$42,500 a year gave rise to some wishful thinking by the bar. The pay hike "will make it possible for more Members to avoid outside activities." Chapter 5 states, adding: "Members should be able to live comfortably without having to practice law, accept corporate directorships, seek out honoraria, or operate businesses." Why the Congressmen, in these inflationary times, should be better able than the rest of us to save the money that comes from raises is not explained. However, it is worth noting that the members got their raise, not by voting it for themselves directly but by establishing a commission with power to help set a new figure that would become final unless Congress vetoed it. Thus the commission was handed the politically nasty

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job of deciding how much Congressmen are worth.

It is good to keep this in mind because it affords a rationale for the Elections Commission. Here is another area where Congress ought to give up trying to discipline itself. Why not give some one else the whip? This could be extended to other areas, too, where Congress cannot be considered the best judge of its own probity. As the bar observes: "It is fair to say that each house will formally discipline a Member only in reaction to aroused public opinion which threatens the group institutionally." When wielded by Congress itself, the "main use" of disciplinary power "is to relieve public concern rather than to elevate the general level of official conduct." Ceding of some power to another agency, as was done with the salary commission, need not entail abdication of a constitutional prerogative by Congress. The House and Senate still would have authority to lay down all the ground rules. But their implementation would be left to a group more impartial and less involved with the personalities, loyalties, antagonisms and day-to-day maneuverings in Congress.

The bar's second volume is informative and readable. It might not, like its predecessor, immediately enjoy the pleasure of being transmuted into law. But it will be accorded respect by public officials and by persons, in and out of Congress, who care about Congress. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

London

They don't play the British national anthem in the London theatres any more before or after the show as they used to. A year ago the expletive "s.o.b." was taboo. Now four-letter words abound. These are superficial signs of change that have been going on since the late fifties.

The anti-establishment theatre is now the popular theatre. Even a thriller like Anthony Shaffer's hit *Sleuth* speaks of such fare—detective fiction—as a symptom of the emptiness of England's old class society.

The deep dissatisfaction with the present state of the nation voiced by all parties is taking a new turn—beyond the merely jocular. A revue like *Oh! What a Lovely War* was as sentimental as it was satiric. This is hardly true of such a play as Peter Nichols' *The National Health*,

admirably produced at the National Theatre. Here the mockery, despite some alleviation through a travesty of television gush, is bitter. The humor is jaundiced throughout.

On the surface *The National Health*, by the author of *Joe Egg*, is a detailed picture of a general ward in a welfare state hospital. The interns droop with fatigue from overwork; the head physician, while professionally expert, is contemptuous of his rather callous assistants. The seriously ill die; the others are dismissed from care without cure; the prognosis for all is bleak. Few despair but there is little real hope anywhere. Disappointment is chronic.

All this would be unendurable as spectacle if there were not so much levity in the presentation. But it is through this very "fun" that the style of the play and the present mood in the English theatre (and life) become perceptible. The play would be less ominous if it were either more pathetic or more indignant. Danger is inherent in the joke.

The National Theatre, almost eighty actors strong, is talented, versatile, intelligent and attractive. It is especially fortunate in character actors and comedians. The repertory is becoming increasingly far-ranging. The National, together with the other subsidized theatres, the Royal Shakespeare and the Royal Court, are now the focus of interest in London. The West End (the commercial) theatre is in trouble.

But in the West End too the trend is toward sick laughter, grinning discouragement. Though there is less optimism about the state of the theatre now than there was in the early days of Osborne, Pinter, Arden and others, I find that whatever the quality of the particular plays presently on view, there is far more reflection of contemporary life than on our stage or in France. And this, for all the disillusionment that emerges is indicative, at least, of artistic honesty.

The Parisian theatre of the 1950s, in a manner characteristically French, veered to the abstract, the stylized. Though, to some extent this is also true in England, the base is almost always realistic. The English never stray too far from the concrete. There is vigor in this.

David Storey's *The Contractor* is a group portrait of ill-favored (non-union) workers employed by a rough Yorkshire builder. The workers are both wounded in spirit and thick-skinned. There is one rebellious fellow among them—an Irishman—but they are all uninterested in their jobs, unkind to one another, hostile, and unimpressed though outwardly servile to their employer.

Himself a man of working-class origin, the builder (or contractor) is tough in manner, seemingly generous, though his generosity masks a fundamental exploitation of his employees' weaknesses. He is brutal with his family: a daughter eager to escape her home, an educated son he finds soft and useless, a doctor son-in-law for whom he has little respect and who seems to deserve none, a wife whom he bears with and who puts up with him. All are strangers to one another, conscious of little except their shared duress.

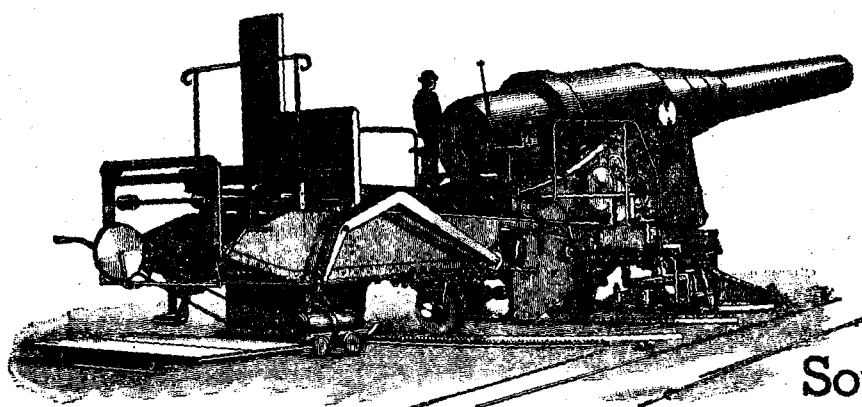
The play's language is undoubtedly authentic, the observation literal; the tone is one of mordant amusement and the acting, under Lindsay Anderson's sardonic eye, everything that it should be. The probably intentional effect is somewhat chilling, but this is England looking at itself with rigor. The audience appears to enjoy the sight of this familiar "landscape." But, I wondered, is the truth here sufficiently true. Gorky in Czarist times depicted similar people (and many worse) but there was heart in the Russian's treatment—and I don't mean sentimentality. We do not stand apart from his characters as I felt inclined to do from those in *The Contractor*.

In David Mercer's *Flint*, England's troubled spirit becomes extravagant. Mercer, who wrote the screenplay for *Morgan*, is something of an anarchist. His writing laughs but its laughter bodes no good.

Flint is a 70-year-old Anglican clergyman who drinks, fornicates and values very little apart from such pleasures. He is married to a frigid wife who hates him; he has been his sister-in-law's lover; she is a woman who in advanced age has become savagely eccentric. He takes up with a 20-year-old tart who is pregnant. One wonders how this oddball was able to pursue his duties in the church till we meet his bishop who is himself a man of little faith in anything but his official position.

The play is peppered with obscenities which enliven a highly literary language. Mercer writes to beat the band, but Flint, the man and the play, have nowhere to go but to a fatal vehicular accident as Flint and his girl attempt to ride free of the musty establishment which has for so long been his support. But that establishment, which is treated with so much witty derision in this as in the other plays, is now in visible decay and everyone appears to rejoice in its breakdown.

Reading what I have just said an American might conclude that what England is going through is a moral and



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Comparison of Philbin's and Rivers' Voting Records on National Security and Defense Issues in 1969.

Bill numbered	Bill concerning	Date of vote	Philbin	Rivers
HR 15090	Defense Appropriation	Dec. 8, 1969	Yes	Yes
HRes 722	Vietnam (supporting Nixon policy)	Dec. 1, 1969	Yes	Absent
HRes 613	Vietnam (supporting Nixon policy)	Dec. 1, 1969	Yes	Absent
HR 14751	Military Construction Appropriation	Nov. 13, 1969	Yes	Yes
HRes 577	Military Construction	Nov. 13, 1969	Yes	Yes
HRes 561	Defense Procurement Authorization	Oct. 3, 1969	Yes	Yes
HR 14000	Defense Procurement Authorization (preventing amendments) (motion to recommit and delete funds) (passage)	Oct. 3, 1969	Yes No Yes	Yes No Yes
HR 13018	Military Construction Authorization (recommit) (passage)	Aug. 5, 1969	No Yes	No Yes
HR 12167	AEC Authorization	June 18, 1969	Yes	Yes
HR 11271	NASA Authorization	June 10, 1969	Yes	Yes
HR 7757	Coast Guard Procurement and Construction Authorization	Apr. 29, 1969	Yes	Yes
HR 4153	Aircraft Procurement Authorization	Mar. 27, 1969	Yes	Yes

Compiled from Congress Quarterly Almanac, 1969.

The Rev. Robert F. Drinan, distinguished Dean of Boston College Law School, is opposing Philbin in the Massachusetts Democratic Primary on September 15th. Drinan has long opposed our War in Southeast Asia; he calls for immediate withdrawal; he calls for major reduction of our military spending. If Drinan defeats Philbin, it will be of national significance. That is why we are asking all Americans to contribute to his campaign.

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social crisis not unlike our own. That would be an error. For even in their present condition the English remain a thoroughly civilized people. Civilization in America has always been unfinished, only partially operative. In England even the hippies, the defectors and the derelicts still manifest the stamp of the original civilizing process. Perhaps this residue of form will serve to preserve the English from the ignominious collapse with which all our civilizations are threatened, seem indeed to "promise."

The sensation of the late London season is the National Theatre's production of *The Merchant of Venice*. The main attraction is Laurence Olivier's Shylock, though there are other novelties in the occasion.

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The play has been staged by Jonathan Miller, who was one of the stars of *Beyond the Fringe* and who has recently been marking time by refurbishing Lewis Carroll and Shakespeare with contemporary conceits. The revue touch is especially effective in the casket scene in which the Prince of Morocco is played as a modern African potentate, and the Prince of Arragon is burlesqued as a senile and purblind idiot. But there is less humor in the rest.

Miller mitigates the anti-Semitic aspect of the play. Thus when Bassanio witnesses Shylock's extreme humiliation, he is markedly affected and does all he can to stop his friend Gratiano from viciously guying the suffering Jew. Even Antonio, played as a respectable Victorian British businessman, is shaken when he hears Shylock's terrible sobbing immediately after he has left the court in defeat. The play begins and ends with what sounds very much like a traditional Hebrew chant of lamentation.

I have always thought of *The Merchant of Venice* as an ironic comedy about "capitalist" hypocrisy. Antonio and his companions—their whole society in fact—live on unearned income. Most of them are wastrels parading as gentlemanly gay blades. They hate the Jew for being a moneylender which was virtually the only profession open to one of his religion in the 16th century. But they require his money when they have been profligate in the use of their funds. After they escape the consequences of their improvidence and bankrupted the Jew they turn once more to their thoughtless fun and games. This explains the last act, superfluous even fatuous, unless the play is so understood.

Something of this comes through in Miller's production, but hardly enough. Still I suspect that the interpretation I have suggested is based on the assumption that every one of Shakespeare's plays is a coherent whole. I am not at all convinced that this is so. Shakespeare was a giant among poet-dramatists, but he was also a popular play-maker, and when he wrote *The Merchant* he was dealing with a tricky theme. He planned to write a play with lots of laughs and pretty diversions, a melodramatic comedy which would also contain the menace of a fantastic creature, a *Jew*, who in the England of his day was an unknown phenomenon, since the Jews had been banished many years before.

But because Shakespeare was a genius he could not create an entirely false character, and Shylock became a highly complex one: an ogre to the groundlings, a man of fierce and understandable passion for the more aware. He has been denatured by the cruelty of his situation

as an "alien" in a corrupt society. On several occasions in these columns I have referred to him as "the poisoned conscience of Venice." He is no "hero" and just as certainly not the laughable villain the Elizabethans must have taken him to be.

What I saw at the National Theatre is a clever show with hints and overtones of contemporary significance and a reasonable portrait of the pivotal character. Except for the late 19th-century English mode in which the play is set, the production marks no startling departure from previous interpretations of recent years.

As performance, Olivier's Shylock is superb. His beardless make-up possesses a striking resemblance to some Anglo-Jewish tradesmen of Austrian or German origin often seen today in London. His delivery and readings are wonderful in their clarity and eloquence. With great conviction he conveys the justified resentment of the persecuted. The famous "Hath not a Jew eyes," is not special pleading but the exasperation of a man fed up to the teeth with injustice. Storming about the stage his protest rises tempestuously from within him but is not addressed to anyone in particular.

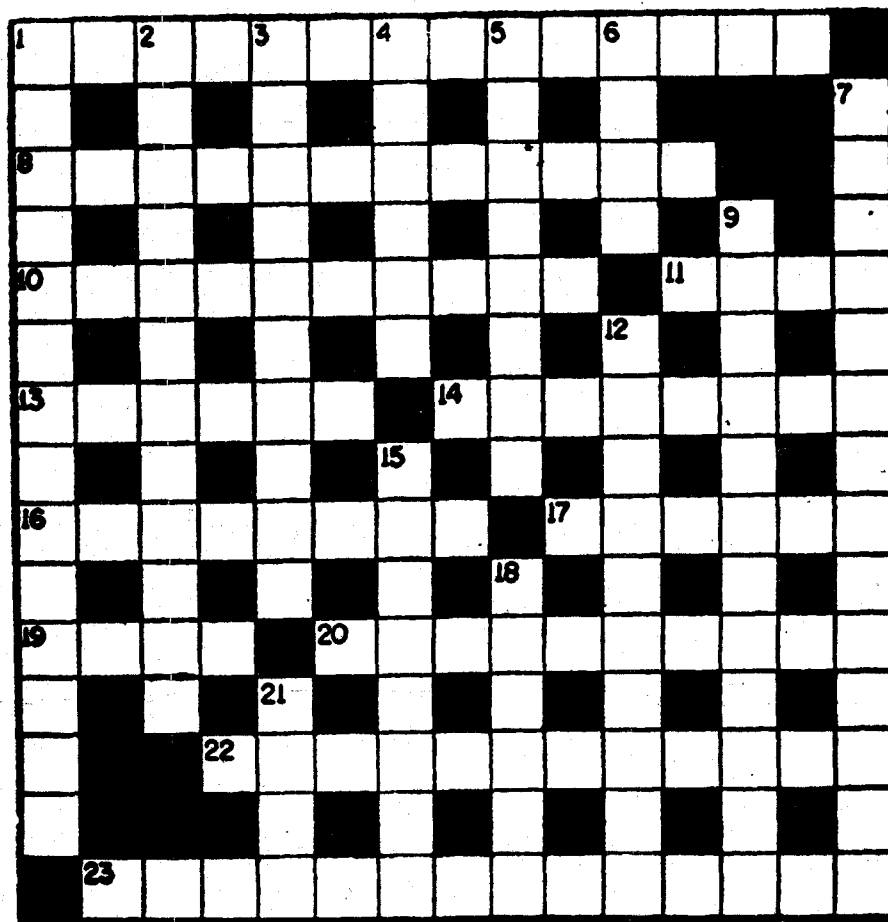
Shylock here is reduced to middle-class proportions. The slight Germanic accent conspires to enhance this impression. (There is in the whole idea of making Shakespeare a man of our day, whether in a "Marxist" or "existentialist" vein, something basically middle class.) What is lacking in Olivier's Shylock—and the production generally, more a thing of good and less good bits and patches than a satisfactory whole—is a sense of *grandeur*. Without it Shakespeare's stature is diminished.

I was an interested observer, even at moments an admiring one, at this *Merchant*. But it did not move me nor did it cause me to see the play in a new light. Intelligence and skill had gone into its making, but I felt less involved than I did in the ephemeral pieces I saw on some of the other evenings.

Just as there hardly exists a truly tragic drama in the contemporary theatre, there are virtually no genuine tragedians. The last one I can remember seeing was Chaliapin, and between 1916 and 1922 John Barrymore struck me as having that potential. Laurence Olivier is not essentially a tragedian. He is a romantic actor, a brilliant delineator of (often comic) characters. He has extraordinary power, scope and charm, and he is certainly the most dazzlingly accomplished player today on the English-speaking stage. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1353

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 A change of clothing is apt, I deem, tending to check the possible results of irritation. (14)
- 8 The man who traditionally had a high naval position is evidently now in the hold, which should be a warning. (4,3,5)
- 10 The upper crust at one time might have been expected to be of it, but it suggests elevated bunk! (5,5)
- 11 The rate of speed might be tied by someone. (4)
- 13 With rather fancy habits? (6)
- 14 It should be very valuable as stone, or made out of an iron hook. (8)
- 16 Having a hankering for something. (8)
- 17 Things ripped down might subsequently be. (4,2)
- 19 They might stop pouring if you say it! (4)
- 20 Is a blend of cocoa prime example of what some see as being staged? (5,5)
- 22 It might involve putting a new value on things. (12)
- 23 If going along with the carpenter is considered a stupid act, then the analogy might make sense! (4,2,2,6)

DOWN

- 1 Obviously exhausted with an 8-hour task, but taken as a matter of course. (3,2,1,4,4)

- 2 Could our belt be so considered, since one's promotion is supposed to be a bad thing? (7-5)
- 3 Giving special treatment. (10)
- 4 Such water should come from the Rockies! (6)
- 5 Dane, in a sense, as a constellation. (5,3)
- 6 and 9. Was Lady Macbeth's a damnable one, being aired from time to time? (4, 12)
- 7 Yellow tempera, perhaps, applied with some warmth. (7,7)
- 9 See 6 down.
- 12 Strictly speaking, it takes special equipment, alternatively it has a possibly lousy finish! (10)
- 15 Sanctions. (8)
- 18 Bird Napoleon was endeavoring to establish in *Animal Farm*? (6)
- 21 Time, by the sound of it, for a nickname! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1352

ACROSS: 1 Caballero; 6 Ebbd; 9 Trips up; 10 Fishers; 11 Red; 12 Chance; 13 Pike; 15 Preludes; 16 Street; 18 Apemen; 20 Corridor; 23 Tape; 24 and 5 Run for office; 25 Ash; 28 Concede; 29 Taction; 30 Speak; 31 Spinsters. DOWN: 1 Cuter, 2 Brindle; 3 Lost causes; 4 Expiates; 6 Easy; 7 Beeline; 8 Dissenter; 14 Star tracks; 15 Practices; 17 Confetti; 19 Expunge; 21 Diamine; 22 Tubers; 26 Hands; 27 Deck.

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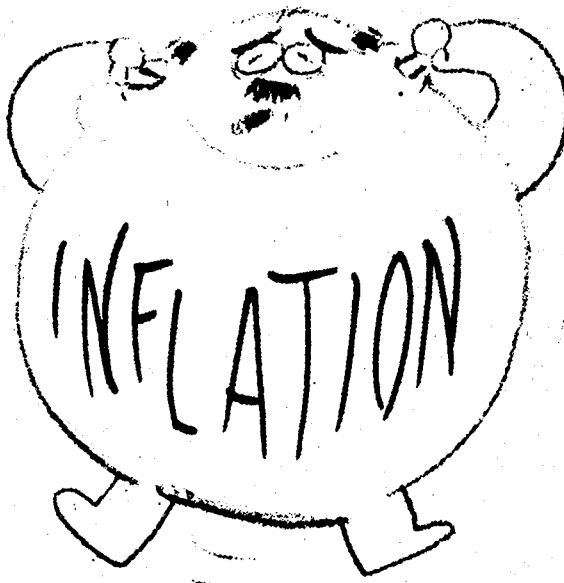
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In the May 25th issue of The NATION, B. J. Widick outlines the response of "The Suffering Majority" to the ravages of inflation and predicts a long hot strike by the United Auto Workers. In the same issue, Alan Wolfe describes the panic of the Ph.D.s, faced by a lack of teaching jobs at the nation's universities.

Inflation may have done more for the anti-war movement than any other single factor. We are all affected by inflationary prices in a shrinking economy. The jobless rate was 5% in May and still rising. The stock market is shaky—and so are we.

In the June 1st issue of The NATION, Franz Schurmann discusses Nixon's reasons for the invasion of Cambodia and the Administration's possible future plans. The May 25th issue brought you Robert Sherrill's comments on Republican chances in the November elections. The Congressional Conference on Justice in America was covered by none of the news media except last week by The NATION.

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